

A LETTER
TO THE
REV. GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D.
MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY,
ON
CERTAIN POINTS
OF
FAITH AND PRACTICE.

BY THE
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REV. C. W. SULLIVAN
BRAMPTON

A LETTER,

8c.

REV. SIR,

I MAKE no apology for troubling you with this Letter, for I cannot conceal from myself that I am one of those against whom your recent Publication is directed. My first impulse indeed, when I heard of the probability of its appearance, was to resolve not to answer it, and to recommend the same course to others. I have changed my mind at the suggestion of friends, who, I feel, have taken a sounder view of the matter; but my original feeling was, that we have differences and quarrels enough all around us, without adding to them. Sure I am, that the more stir is made about those opinions which you censure, the wider they will spread. This has been proved abundantly in the course of the last few years. Whatever be the mistakes and faults of their advocates, they have that root of truth in them which, as I do firmly believe, has a blessing with it. I do not pretend to say they will ever become popular with the many, that is another matter;—nor do I say they will ever

gain that powerful external influence over the many, which truth vested in the Few, cherished, throned, energizing in the Few, often has possessed;—nor that they are not destined, as truth has often been destined, to be cast away and at length trodden under foot as an odious thing;—but of this I am sure, that at this juncture in proportion as they are known, they will make their way through the community, picking out their own, seeking and obtaining refuge in the hearts of Christians, high and low, here and there, with this man and that, as the case may be; doing their work in their day, as raising a witness to this fallen generation of what once has been, of what God would ever have, of what one day shall be in perfection; and that, not from what they are in themselves, because viewed in the concrete they are mingled, as every thing human must be, with error and infirmity, but by reason of the spirit, the truth, the old Catholic life and power which is in them.

And, moreover, while that inward principle of truth will carry on their tide of success to those bounds wider or straiter, which, in God's inscrutable providence, they are to reach and not to pass, it is also a substitute for those artificial and sectarian bounds of co-operation between man and man, which constitute what is commonly called a party. I notice this, because though you do not apply the word *party* to their upholders, you do speak of an existing "combination," "an indefinite and appa-

rently numerous body of friends," nay you hint at a "formidable conspiracy;" words which mean more than that unity of action which unity of sentiments produces. Men who think deeply and strongly, will act upon their principles; and if they think alike, will act alike; and lookers on, seeing the acts, and not seeing the principles, impute that to concert which proceeds from unanimity. So much I would grant in the present case, and no more; unless the contingency of two persons thinking alike and acting on their thoughts be party spirit, the appearance of party may easily exist in cases where there is not the reality. Like actions inevitably follow; but their doers are not party men, till their own personal success becomes prior in their thoughts to that of their object.

Such is the position in which the opinions and persons stand, which you so heavily censure. And whatever be the consequence to those persons, I see nothing but advantage resulting to those opinions from such publicity and discussion as you are drawing upon them. As far as they are concerned, I should have no anxiety about addressing you; but a feeling of the miserable breach of peace and love which too commonly follows on such controversies, to say nothing of one's own private convenience, is enough to make any one pause before he engages in such a discussion. I cannot doubt such is your feeling also, and therefore I deeply regret that a sense of imperative duty should

have obliged you to commence it. No one of course can deny that there may be cases when it is a duty to hazard such a result; the claims of truth must not be compromised for the sake of peace. Nor has any one cause to complain of those who, from a religious regard to purity of doctrine, denounce what he admires. But this I think may fairly be required of all persons, that they go not so far as to denounce in another what they do not at the same time shew to be inconsistent with the doctrines of our Church. Now this is the first thought which rises in my mind on the perusal of your pamphlet. I do not find in it any proof (I do not say of the erroneousness of the opinions and practices you condemn, but) even of their *contrariety to our Church's doctrines*^a. This seems to me an omission. You speak of an "increas-

^a Dr. Faussett, in the Preface to the Second Edition of his Pamphlet, says, that this Letter "should seem to have been *written without* any complete perusal of it, including of course the Notes and Appendix." p. iv. It seems then what it is not. He adds, "Hence I presume it is, that I am supposed to make assertions without proof." I certainly do not yet see that Dr. F. *proves* that the persons he censures "*overvalue* tradition," are "*unscriptural*," or that they contravene our Articles and Prayer Book. This last point especially is what I ask proof of; instead of which Dr. F. asks why *I* do not appeal to *Scripture*, as if it were not enough for my purpose with a fellow-Churchman and an opponent, to appeal to the formularies of our Church. Were he not a Churchman, or were I teaching him instead of defending myself, I should appeal to *Scripture*; but as Churchmen we are bound to agreement on some points, with the permission of differences on others.

ing *aberration* from Protestant principles," " a disposition to *overvalue* the importance of Apostolical tradition ;" " *exaggerated* and *unscriptural* statements," a " *tendency* to depreciate the principles of Protestantism," and to " palliate" the " errors of Popery," " gradual and near *approximation* towards" the " Roman superstitions" concerning " the Lord's Supper." Now this is all assertion, not proof ; and no one person, not even a Bishop, may at his mere word determine what doctrine shall be received and what not. He is bound to appeal to the established faith. He is bound *conscientiously* to try opinions by the established faith, and in doing so he appeals to an Unseen Power. He is bound to *state* in what respect they differ from it, if they differ ; and in so doing he appeals to his brethren. The decision, indeed, is in his own hands ; he acts on his own responsibility ; but before he acts he makes a solemn appeal before God and man. What is true of the highest authority in the Church, is true of others. We all have our private views ; many persons have the same private views ; but if ten thousand have the same, that does not make them less private ; they are private, till the Church's judgment makes them public. I am not entering into the question what is the Church, and what the difference between the whole Church and parts of the Church, or what are, what are not, subjects for Church decisions ; I only say, looking at the English Church at this moment

and practically, that if there be two parties in it, the one denouncing, the other denounced, in a matter of doctrine, either the latter is promoting heresy, or the former is promoting schism. I do not see that there is any medium; and it does seem incumbent on the former to shew he is not infringing peace, by shewing that the latter is infringing truth.

There is a floating body of opinions in every Church, which varies with the age. They are held in one age, abandoned in the next. They are distinct from the Church's own doctrines; they may be held or abandoned, not without criticism indeed, because every man has a right to have his opinion about another's thoughts and deeds, and to tell him of it, but without denunciation. The English Church once considered persecution to be a duty; I am not here called on to give any opinion on the question; but certainly the affirmative side of it was not *binding* on every one of her members. The body of the English Church has for three centuries past called the Lord's Table an Altar, though the word is not in our formularies ^b: I think a man wrong who says it is not an Altar, but I will not denounce him; I will not write in a hostile tone against any person or any work which does not, as I think, contradict the Articles or Prayer Book. And in like manner, there has ever been in our Church, and is

^b Except indeed, as it would appear, the Coronation Service.

allowed by our formularies, a very great latitude as regards the light in which the Church of Rome is to be viewed. Why must this right of private judgment be infringed? Why must those who exercise that right be spoken of in terms only applicable to heretical works, and which might with just as much and just as little propriety be retorted upon the quarter they came from? Mr. Froude's volumes are called an "*offensive publication*;" is this a term to be applied to writings which differ from us in essentials or non-essentials? they are spoken of not only as containing "startling and extravagant" passages, but "poison." What words do you reserve for heresy, for plain denials of the Creed, for statements counter to the Articles, for preachings and practices in disobedience to the Prayer Book? If at any time the danger from Romanism was imminent, it was at the time when the Articles were drawn up; what right has any one of his own private authority to know better than their compilers, and to act as if those Articles were more stringent in their protest against it than they are? If the Church of the nineteenth century outruns the sixteenth in her condemnation of its errors, let her mould her formularies accordingly. When she has so done, she has a claim on her members to submit; but till then, she has a claim on them to respect that liberty of thought which she has allowed, nor to denounce without stating the formal grounds of their denunciation.

I am speaking, on the one hand, of a public severe deliberate condemnation ; and on the other of the omission of the grounds on which it is made. If grounds can be produced, of course I do not object ; and in such case I leave it for those to decide, whether they be tenable, with whom the decision lies. Nor on the other hand can any fair objection be made to friendly expostulation, nay or to public remonstrance, even without grounds stated, if put forward as resting on the personal authority of the individual making it. Men of wisdom need not for ever be stating their grounds for what they say : but then they speak not *ex cathedrâ*, but as if “ giving *their* judgment, as those that have been faithful ;” as “ Paul the aged.” The private judgment of one man is not the same as that of another ; it may, if it so be, weigh indefinitely more than another’s ; it may outweigh that of a number, however able, learned, and well-intentioned. But then he gives it *as* private judgment ; he does not come forward to denounce. He is in one sense the law itself, and others, taking his sentence from his mouth, use it after him. And, again, to take the case of men in general, there will ever be difference of opinions among them about the truth, fairness, propriety, or expedience of things said and done by each other. They have full right, as I have already said, or are even under a duty to speak their mind, though they speak it with pain ; and the parties spoken to must bear it, though they bear it with

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pain. All this need not infringe the bond of charity on the one side or the other. But to denounce publicly yet without stating grounds is a different procedure.

And next, I am sorry, that, considering that you have used strong terms concerning Mr. Froude's volumes, you have not judged it right to state that they contain as strong expressions against Popery as your pamphlet contains against *them*. Nay, you might without much trouble have even cited these, especially as you cite so many others which seem to you to countenance Popery; but perhaps this was too much to expect. Yet at least you would not have lost time in finding them, for some of the principal are brought together in the Preface, which you have evidently read. These strong disclaimers in the work in question tell the more from the unsuspicious way in which the Author made them; in private letters to friends, and in casual conversation, when nothing called for them but the genuine feeling of their truth on his part. They shall find here the place which you have denied them.

Speaking of Italy and Sicily, he says, "These Catholic countries seem in an especial manner *κατέχειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ*. And the Priesthood are themselves so sensible of the hollow basis upon which their power rests, that they dare not resist the most atrocious encroachments of the State upon their privileges . . . I have seen priests laughing when at the Confessional; and indeed it

is plain, that, unless they habitually made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated." vol. i. pp. 293, 4.

Such a protest against the practical working of the existing Roman system abroad, is not much like a recommendation of it at home. I am sure your readers cannot be prepared for it. All you tell them is, from your title, that there is a "Revival of Popery," and, from your remarks, that Mr. Froude's Volumes help it forward. To be sure, you do concede that the persons you speak of are not "*strictly* Papists;" and that it would be "as uncharitable as it is untrue," to say, "that *within certain limits of their own devising* they are not actually opposed to the corruptions and the communion of Rome." p. 24. May I ask, *whose* "devising" the "limits" are, which enable you to assign to these persons their exact place in the scale of theology? Certainly they are not those of the Church's creed; at least, you do not appeal to it. Such is the measure of consideration shewn them.

Again: "On a friend's saying that the Romanists were schismatics in England and Catholics abroad; No," he answered, "they are *wretched Tridentines* every where." vol. i. p. 434.

In another place he speaks of "the atrocious Council" of Trent; and adds, "I own it" (information concerning that Council) "has altogether

changed my notions of the Roman Catholics ; and *made me wish for the total overthrow of their system.*" vol. i. pp. 307, 8.

Now from such passages I gather, that the Author did consider the existing system of Rome, since the Council of Trent, to be a most serious corruption. Nay, he adds himself, that he wishes for its "*total overthrow.*" This is not like giving a helping hand towards "the Revival of Popery." However, the sole impression conveyed to your mind, by the passage, is, not the *direct* one that the Roman system *has been* hopelessly corrupt *since* Trent, but, by an *inference*, that it was *not* hopelessly corrupt *before*. The latter point you enlarge upon; the former you let alone. Might I not put in a plea that you should not deduce *from* a premiss, without acknowledging that premiss *itself*?

But now, as to this question concerning the Council of Trent,—since the subject has been mentioned, and you will not require me to be very methodical in a Letter like this;—let us consider what it is Mr. Froude and others have said about it. Merely this, which is said by some of our most considerable Divines, as Dean Field, not that the Church of Rome was not corrupt before the Council of Trent, but that its corruptions before were for the most part *in* the Church, but not *of* it ; they were floating opinions and practices, far and wide received, as the Protestant opinions in our Church may be at this day, but, like these in our own case,

they were not, as a body, taken into the Church, and made the system of the Church till that Council^c. And this is what Mr. Froude means by his notions being “changed” about the Roman Catholics; he thought, till he was better informed, that the Church in Council might alter what the Church in Council had determined; but when he found that Romanists could not reduce to a matter of opinion what they had once exalted into a doctrine, that they could not unloose an anathema they had once tied, that, in his own words, “they were committed finally and irrevocably, and could not advance one step to meet us, even though the Church of England should again become what it was in Laud’s time,” then, while he called the Council “atrocious,” he went on to “wish for the total overthrow” of the system, which is built upon it. How different is this from approving of every thing that took place in the Church before it! While bitterly mourning over the degradation and divisions of the Church Catholic, he is oppressed with the sudden sight of an apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of any future healing of her wounds, the great and formal act of the Roman Church at Trent, that points which had been before but matters of opinion, should be henceforth terms of communion. There was hope till this act; there were the means of reformation. In the words of one of the Tracts you

^c Image worship had been sanctioned at the second Council of Nicæa; transubstantiation at the fourth Lateran.

refer to, " If she (Rome) has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared, the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist. But before that time, grievous as were the corruptions in the Church, no individual Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, was bound by oath to the maintenance of them. Extensively as they were spread, no clergyman was shackled by obligations which prevented his resisting them ; he could but suffer persecution for so doing. He did not commit himself in one breath to two vows, to serve faithfully in the Ministry, and yet to receive all the superstitions and impieties which human perverseness had introduced into the most gracious and holiest of God's gifts." vol. i. No. 15.

I confess I wish this passage were not cast in so declamatory a form ; but the substance of it expresses just what I mean. The Council of Trent did, as regards Roman errors, what, for all we know, (though God forbid !) some future synod of the English Church may do as regards Protestant errors,—take them into her system, make them terms of communion, bind upon her hitherto favoured sons their grievous chain ; and what that unhappy Council actually did for Rome, that does every one in his place and according to his power, who, by declaiming against and denouncing those who dare to treat the Protestant errors as unestablished, gives a helping hand towards their establishment.

I will quote two passages from very different persons in corroboration of what has been said, Dean Field and Bernard Gilpin. Dean Field says, that “ none of those points of false doctrine and error which Romanists now maintain and we condemn were the doctrines of the Church *before the Reformation* constantly delivered, or generally received, by all them that were of it, but doubtfully broached, and devised without all certain resolution, or factiously defended by some certain only, who, *as a dangerous faction*, adulterated the sincerity of the Christian Verity, and brought the Church into miserable bondage.” *Of the Church, Append. to b. iii.* Elsewhere he speaks as follows: —“ There is therefore a great difference to be made, *between the Church wherein our Fathers formerly lived, and that faction* of the Pope’s adherents, which at this day resist against the necessary reformation of the Churches of God, and make that their faith and religion, *which, in former times, was but the private and unresolved opinion of some certain only.* In former times a man might hold the general doctrine of those Churches wherein our Fathers lived, and be saved, though the assertions of *some men* were damnable. Now it is clean contrary touching the present state of the Romish Church. For the general and main doctrine, *agreed upon in the Council of Trent*, in such as it is most commonly conceived, is damnable: but there are, no doubt, some of a better spirit, and have in

themselves particularly a better conceit of things than is generally holden. *Formerly, the Church of Rome was the true Church, but had in it an heretical faction : now the Church itself is heretical, and some certain only are found in it, in such degree of orthodoxy, as that we may well hope of their salvation.*"
iii. 47.

Bernard Gilpin, whom I shall quote next, is the stronger evidence, inasmuch as he considered, what I certainly cannot, that the Pope was the Anti-christ ; yet he implies that he only became so at Trent. . . . " The Church of Rome kept the rule of faith entire, *until that rule was changed and altered by the Council of Trent ; and from that time it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome, that so that Church which is true and called out from thence might follow the word of God^b.*"

Nothing surely is more intelligible than being in a Church, and not approving of the acts of its rulers or of large bodies in it. At this day there are many things said and done among us which you would as little approve as myself ; and are we answerable for them ? and though we should be silent when great and grievous errors were put forth, though we allowed books to go out to the world as if with our sanction when they had it not, though we gave persons out of doors the impression

^b Wordsworth, Eccles. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 94.

that we approved of them, though when controversy began we took no prominent share in it, though we sat still and let others bear the brunt and odium of it, ought we therefore to be *identified* with those errors whatever they are? Certainly not; though blameless in such a case we certainly should not be, nor without some sort of debt to them who worked for us. If Albigenses or Waldenses can be found who really did the office of witnesses in those strange times of mixed good and evil, let them have the praise of it; let the Church have the shame of it, for not doing the work herself and in a better way. But it is one thing to say the rulers of the Church were remiss or incapable; quite another that they agreed with their heterodox brethren, who acted instead of them, and usurped the Church's name, and abused her offices, and seemed to be more than they were. How then is it to the purpose to speak of "the systematic imposture of pretended miracles," "the portentous delusions of Purgatory and Transubstantiation," "the especial worship of the Virgin Mary," "the prohibition of Scripture," and "the establishment of the Inquisition," &c. as existing before Trent? Who defends such things as these? who says the Church of Rome was free from them before Trent? Are not the Tracts, which you refer to, full of protestations against them, protestations quite as strong as those contained in your pamphlet? Why are the Tracts to be censured for stating a plain historical fact, that

the Roman Church did not, till Trent, embody in her creed the mass of her present tenets, while they do not deny but expressly acknowledge her great corruptions before that era, while they give the history of Transubstantiation prior to Trent, (Nos. 27, 28.) of the Breviary worship of the Blessed Virgin prior to Trent, (No. 75.) of Purgatory prior to Trent, (No. 79.) while they formally draw up points in which they feel agreement with Romanists to be hopeless, (Nos. 38, 71.) and while they declare, (in large letters, to draw attention,) that, while Rome is what it is, "union" with it "is impossible?" (No. 20.) All that can be said against them is, that in discussing the Roman tenets, they use guarded language; and this I will say, that the more we have personal experience of the arduous controversy in question, the more shall we understand the absolute necessity, if we are to make any way, of weighing our words, and keeping from declamation.

You speak as if the opinions held in the works you censure were novel in our Church, and you connect them with the "*revival of Popery.*" Does any one doubt that on all those points of *doctrine* on which a question can occur, there is a large school in our Church, consisting of her far most learned men, mainly agreeing in them? Does any one doubt that they are borne out in the main by Hooker, Andrews, Laud, Montague, Hammond, Bramhall, Taylor, Thorndike, Bull, Beveridge, Ken, and

Wilson, not to mention others? how many are there of the *doctrines* you object to, which one or other or all of these great pastors and teachers do not maintain? I will confine myself to Bramhall, who flourished in the seventeenth century, and after holding the see of Derry in the reign of Charles the First, and suffering in the great Rebellion, was made Archbishop of Armagh. And let it be observed, that in thus drawing out one or two of the opinions of this great man, I am not making myself or any one else responsible for them; I am but shewing how far divines may diverge from the views now popular, and yet be held in reverence both in their day and since.

1. Concerning the Real Presence he thus speaks: "So grossly is he mistaken on all sides, when he said that '*Protestants*' (*he should say the English Church if he would speak to the purpose*) 'have a positive belief that the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ;' which were to contradict the words of Christ, '*This is My Body.*' He knows better that Protestants do not deny the *thing*, but their bold determination of the *manner* by Transubstantiation." *Works*, p. 226. "Abate us Transubstantiation, and those things which are consequent of their determination of the *manner* of Presence, and we have no difference with them [the Romanists] to this particular. They who are ordained Priests ought to have power to consecrate the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, *to make Them present*

after such manner as they were present at the first institution, whether it be done by enunciation of the words of Christ, as it is observed in the Western Church, or by Prayer, as it is practised in the Eastern Church ; or whether these two be both the same thing in effect, that is, that forms of the Sacraments be mystical prayers and implicit invocations." *Works*, p. 485. " Whether it be corporally or spiritually, (I mean not only after the manner of a spirit, but in a spiritual sense,) whether it be in the soul only or in the Host also, whether by consubstantiation or transubstantiation, whether by production, or adduction, or conservation, or assumption, or by whatsoever other way bold and blind men here conjecture, we determine not." p. 21.

2. Concerning the sacrifice of the Mass. " If his Sacrifice of the Mass have any other propitiatory power or virtue in it *than* to commemorate, represent, and apply the merit of the Sacrifice of the Cross, let him speak plainly what it is. *Bellarmino knew no more of this Sacrifice* than we." p. 172. " We acknowledge an Eucharistical Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; a commendative Sacrifice, or a memorial of the Sacrifice of the Cross ; a representative Sacrifice, or a representation of the Passion of Christ before the eyes of His heavenly Father ; an impetrative Sacrifice, or an impetration of the fruit and benefit of His passion, by way of real prayer ; and, lastly, an applicative Sacrifice, or an application of His merits unto our souls. Let him

that dare go one step farther than we do, and say that it is a suppletory Sacrifice to supply the defects of the Sacrifice of the Cross ; or else let them hold their peace, and speak no more against us in this point of Sacrifice for ever." p. 255. " I have challenged them to go one step farther into it [the question of the Sacrifice of the Mass] than I do ; and *they dare not*, or rather *they cannot*, without blasphemy." p. 418.

3. Concerning adoration *in* the Sacrament. " We ourselves adore Christ *in the Sacrament* ; but we dare not adore the *species of Bread and Wine*." p. 356.

4. Concerning Prayers for the Dead in Christ. " We condemn not all praying for the dead ; not for their resurrection and the consummation of their happiness ; but their prayers for their deliverance out of Purgatory." p. 356.

5. Concerning the Intercession of Saints. " For the ' intercession, prayers, merits of the Saints,' (taking the word ' merit' in the sense of the Primitive Church, that is, not for desert, but for acquisition,) I know no difference about them, among those men who understand themselves ; but only about the last words, ' which they invoke in their Temples,' rather than Churches. A *comprecation* both the Grecians and we do allow ; an *ultimate* invocation both the Grecians and we detest ; so do the Church of Rome in their doctrine, but they vary from it in their practice." p. 418.

6. Concerning Monasteries. " So as Monasteries

were restrained in their number and in their revenues, so as the Monks were restrained from meddling between the Pastor and his flock, . . . so as the abler sort, who are not taken up with higher studies and weightier employments, were inured to bestow their spare hours from their devotions in some profitable labour for the public good, that idleness might be stripped of the cloak of contemplative devotion, so as the vow of celibacy were reduced to the form of our English Universities, so long a fellow, so long unmarried . . . so as their blind obedience were more enlightened and secured by some certain rules and bounds, so as their mock poverty . . . were changed into competent maintenance, and lastly so as all opinion of satisfaction and supererogation were removed, I do not see why Monasteries might not agree well enough with reformed devotion." p. 65.

7. Concerning the Pope. "He must either be meanly versed in the Primitive Fathers, or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed St. Peter in the Roman Bishopric, or will envy him the dignity of a Patriarch within his just bounds." p. 299.

8. Concerning the relation of the English Church to Protestantism. "In setting forth the moderation of our English Reformers, I shewed that we do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church, or a new religion, or new holy orders. Upon this he falls heavily two ways. First he saith, 'It is false,'

as he hath shewed by innumerable testimonies of *Protestants*. . . . For what I said, I produced the *authority of our Church*, he letteth that alone, and sticketh the falsehood upon my sleeve. It seemeth that he is not willing to engage against *the Church of England*; for still he declineth it, and *changeth* the subject of the question *from the English Church* to a *confused company of particular authors of different opinions, of dubious credit, of little knowledge* in our English affairs, tortured and wrested from their genuine sense." p. 225.

Certainly Bramhall was allowed more liberty of speech in matters of doctrine and opinion than is given to members of our Church now; yet his subscriptions were much the same as ours.

I have been led to this subject from certain passages of Mr. Froude's about the Council of Trent, which you have not quoted, merely used; and which you have made, not evidence (which it is) that he shrinks from the Church of Rome as being what it is, but a ground of complaint against him for not shrinking from it as having been what it was not. One other protest against Romanism of a different character is still to come; for I cannot find it in your publication.

He says, "Since I have been out here, I have got a worse notion of the Roman Catholics than I had. *I really do think them idolaters*, though I cannot be quite confident of my information as it affects the character of the priests....What I mean

by calling these people idolaters is, that I believe they look upon the Saints and Virgin as good-natured people, that will try to get them let off easier than the Bible declares ; and that, as they don't intend to comply with the conditions on which God promises to answer prayers, they pray to them as a come-off." Pref. p. xiii.

Now since you are properly ample on the subject of Idolatry, I wish this passage had occurred to you, as shewing that, however much you found to censure in Mr. Froude's Volumes, he did concur in your view of Romanism in a point of no ordinary importance, however he arrived at it, viz. so far as "*really to think the Roman Catholics idolaters.*" And for a parallel reason I beg to offer my own avowal, which is pretty much the same. I would say then, that it is idolatry to bow down to any emblem or symbol as divine which God Himself has not appointed ; and since He has not appointed the worship of images, such worship is idolatrous ; though how far it is so, whether in itself or in given individuals, we may be unable to determine. So far, then, I am happy to follow you ; however, you then pass on to another subject : " Will it then be credited," you say, " by any one not already cognizant of the fact, that the Crucifix, the effective engine, the notorious emblem of Romish superstition, is once more becoming, with some professed Protestants, an object, not indeed of worship,

—scarcely let us hope even of reverence, yet at least of religious interest.” p. 30. Now that the Crucifix, *if* possessed, ought not to be treated with reverence, is a sentiment into which I cannot enter. We treat the pictures of our friends with reverence. Statues of illustrious persons we treat with reverence; and we feel indignation, if they are damaged or insulted. Who among us would think better of a man, who, as being above prejudice, used his Bible for a footstool? yet what is it but an English printed book? Again, would it not offend the run of religious men, to hear of persons making it a point to keep their hats on in church? yet what is a church but a building of brick or stone? Surely then it is impossible for any religious man, *having* a Crucifix, not to treat it with reverence; and perhaps there are very few religious people in the ordinary walks of life, such, I mean, as live by good principles and good feeling, without having their intellect specially exercised, who would not treat it with due respect. But, while I grant this, I more than doubt whether a Crucifix, carved to represent life as such memorials commonly are, be not too true to be reverent, and too distressing for familiar contemplation. I state this, however, as merely my own opinion; without knowing the opinion of others. So much I know, that the use of the Crucifix is in this place no badge of persons whose mode of thinking you

would condemn. How many Crucifixes could be counted up in Oxford, I know not^{*}; but you will find them in the possession of those who are no special friends or followers of Mr. Froude, and perhaps cordial admirers, except of course on this one point, of the tenor of your publication.

A few words are now necessary on another subject; Mr. Froude's use of the word *Protestantism*, and his language concerning some of the Reformers. Your remarks here go to an incroachment on our liberty of thought and speech, such as I have before noticed. I will but ask by which of the Articles, by what part of the Prayer Book, is a member of our Church bound to acknowledge the Reformers, or to profess himself a Protestant? No where. To force him then to do so, when he fain would not, is narrowing our terms of communion; it is in fact committing the same error which we impute to the Romanists. The Church is not built upon, it is not bound up with, individuals. I do not see why Mr. Froude may not speak against Jewel, if he feels he has a reason, as strongly as many among us speak against Laud. Men are not de-

^{*} Dr. Faussett says that I here "admit" the use of the Crucifix "to prevail to a certain extent." p. vi. I admit nothing, because I know nothing, nor even suspected any thing before he preached his Sermon. I verily believe he knows much more about it than I do. Since his Sermon was preached some instances have been mentioned to me, but I know or have heard of the names of only four persons altogether; one of the four I have forgotten, and another I cannot be sure I heard.

nounced from high places for calling Laud a bigot or a tyrant, why then should not equally strong terms be used against Jewel? One may dislike to hear Laud abused, and feel no drawings towards his abusers; yet may suffer it as a matter in which we must bear differences of opinion however "offensive." This is the very distinction between our Church and (for instance) the Lutherans; that they *are* Lutherans, but we are not Cranmerites, nor Jewelists, but Catholics, members not of a sect or party, but of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. And while the name of Luther became the title, his dogmata, as is well known, were made the rule of faith of his followers; his phrases were noted, almost his very words were got by rote. He was, strictly speaking, the *Master* of his School. Where has the English Church any such head? Whom does she acknowledge but Christ and His Apostles, and as their witness the consent of Fathers? What title has she, but as an old Father speaks, "Christian for her name and Catholic for her surname?" If there is one thing more than another which tends to make us a party, it is the setting up the names of men as our symbols and watchwords. Those who most deeply love them, will not magisterially bring them forward, and whatever they do, will not denounce those who censure them.

At the same time if such expressions concerning Jewel and others, as occur in the Volumes under consideration, have been painful to any minds, I

wish to express my own deep concern at it. With the prospect of such a contingency, nothing but a plain sense of duty could justify their publication ; and it may be a duty, when a conviction exists that the names of such eminent men are fairly connected with, and go to support, serious religious errors. The least said here on such a subject, the better ; let it only be recollected, that what is said about Jewel, is supported by passages quoted from his Works. Shall we defend such passages, or deny his trustworthiness ?

And in like manner, if persons, aware that names are things, conscientiously think that the name of Protestantism is productive of serious mischief,—if it be the property of heresy and schism as much as of orthodoxy,—if it be but a negative word, such as almost forces on its professors the idea of a vague indefinite creed, makes them turn their thoughts to how much they may doubt, deny, ridicule, or resist, rather than what they believe,—if the religion it generates mainly consists in a mere attack upon Rome, and tends to be a mere instrument of state purposes,—if it tends to swallow up devotion in worldliness, and the Church in the executive,—if it damps, discourages, stifles that ancient Catholic system, which, if true in the beginning, is true at all times,—and if on the other hand there be nothing in our formularies obliging us to profess it,—and if external circumstances have so changed, that what it was inexpedient or impossible to do formerly, is

both possible and most expedient now,—these considerations, I conceive, may form a reason for abandoning the word. But here it will be sufficient to keep to the question of our *obligation* to profess it, and with this view I quote the following passage from one of the “Tracts for the Times.”

“The English Church,” it says, “as such, is *not* Protestant, only politically; that is, externally or so far as it has been made an establishment, and subjected to national and foreign influences. It claims to be merely *Reformed*, not Protestant, and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner. That this is no novel doctrine, is plain from the emphatic omission of the word Protestant in all our Services, even in that for the fifth of November, as remodelled in the reign of King William; and again, from the protest of the Lower House of Convocation at that date, on this very subject, which would have had no force, except as proceeding upon recognized usages. The circumstance here alluded to was as follows. In 1689 the Upper House of Convocation agreed on an address to King William, to thank him ‘for the grace and goodness expressed in his message, and the zeal shewn in it for the *Protestant Religion in general*, and the Church of England in particular.’ To this phrase the Lower House objected, as importing, as Birch in his life of Tillotson says, ‘*their owning common union with*

the foreign Protestants.' A conference between the two Houses ensued, when the Bishops supported their wording of the address, on the ground that the Protestant Religion was the known denomination of the *common doctrine* of such parts of the West as had separated from Rome. The Lower House proposed, with other alterations of the passage, the words 'Protestant Churches,' for Protestant Religion, being unwilling to acknowledge Religion as separate from the Church. The Upper House in turn amended thus,—'the interest of the Protestant Religion in *this*, and *all other* Protestant Churches;' but the Lower, still jealous of any diminution of the English Church by a comparison with foreign Protestants, persisted in their opposition, and gained at length that the address, after thanking the King for his zeal for the Church of England, should proceed to anticipate, that thereby 'the interest of the Protestant Religion in' " [not 'this and,' but] "' all other Protestant Churches would be better secured.' Birch adds, 'the King well understood why this address omitted the thanks which the Bishops had recommended, for . . . the zeal which he had shewn for the Protestant Religion; and *why there was no expression of tenderness to the Dissenters, and but a cool regard to the Protestant Churches.*' " No. 71. pp. 32, 33.

Another question on which we may be fairly indulged in a liberty of opinion is, whether or not the Church of Rome is "the mother of harlots," and

the Pope St. Paul's "man of sin." And as feeling it is fairly an open question, I see no need of entering at length into it, even did the limits of a Letter admit. How those divines who hold the Apostolical Succession can maintain the affirmative, passes my understanding; for in holding the one and other point at once, they are in fact proclaiming to the world that they come from "the synagogue of Satan," and (if I may so speak) have the devil's orders^f. I know that highly revered persons have so thought; perhaps they considered that the fatal apostasy took place at Trent, that is, *since* the date of our derivation from Rome; yet, if the proper evidence that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, lies in "the seven hills," in doctrines "about the souls of men," in what you consider "blasphemous titles," and in "lying wonders," then the great Gregory, to whom we Saxons owe our conversion, was Antichrist, for in him and his times were these tokens fulfilled, and our Church

^f On this passage Dr. Faussett remarks from the Scholar Armed, that "the succession of Church offices is no more affected by the errors of Popery, than a man's pedigree is affected by his bodily distemper or the distempers of his parents." p. vi. I maintain this myself most fully; but is it possible that the ministers and partizans of "the man of sin" are merely *diseased Christians*? "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" the "seed" in whose "mouth" the "Spirit" and the "words" of God ever abide, out of that communion which is prophetically declared to be "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird?"

and its Sees are in no small measure the very work of the "Man of Sin." And the dissenting bodies among us seem to understand this well; for they respond to our attack upon Rome, by briskly returning it on ourselves. They know none of those subtle distinctions by which we distinguish in this matter between ourselves and our ancient Mother, but they apply at once to our actual state what we confess of our original descent. If Rome has committed fornication with the kings of the earth, what must be said of the Church of England with her temporal power, her Bishops in the House of Lords, her dignified clergy, her prerogatives, her pluralities, her buying and selling of preferments, her patronage, her corruptions, and her abuses? If Rome's teaching be a deadly heresy, what is our Church's, which "destroys more souls than it saves?" If Rome be "Mystery" because it has mysterious doctrines, what are we with our teaching about the Sacraments and about things in heaven? If "commanding to abstain from meats" be a mark of Antichrist's communion, why do we observe days of fasting and abstinence, and why have our most revered teachers of times past been men of mortified lives? If Rome has put a yoke on the neck of Christians, why have not we, with our prescribed form of prayer, our Saints' Days, our Ordinances, and our prohibition of irregular preaching? If Rome is accused of assuming divine titles and powers, is not our own Church vulnerable too, con-

sidering the Bishop ordains under the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," and the Priest has power given him to remit and retain sins? No; serious as are the corruptions of Rome, clear indeed as are the differences between her communion and ours, they do not lie in any prophetic criteria; we cannot prove her the enchantress of the Apocalyptic Vision, without incurring our share in its application; and our enemies see this and make use of it. I am not inventing a parallel; they see it and use it. They are now exulting, as they believe piously, in our Church's troubles, for they consider, that while she is established, she is "partaker of the sins" of Rome, and they see in them the fulfilment of the prophecy, that the "ten horns" should "hate" the woman, and "make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." They view in the confiscations going on in Spain and Portugal, and in the measures of our own government at home, the progress of one and the same Retributive Dispensation. And they declare that we have not yet obeyed the exhortation which you address to your readers, "Come out of her, My people, that ye receive not of her plagues;" not, till we give up our stalls, our livings, and our dignities, and are content to rest merely on our popularity, our powers of preaching, our acceptableness to our people, our efficiency, our industry, and our Christian perfection. Nor is this most odious view a modern one; nor is it held by orthodox though

mistaken men only. The argument was evolved to its last link at the time of the Reformation. The followers of Socinus then proclaimed that Rome was Babylon; and that those who so thought could not consistently stop till they thought Socinianism the Gospel. According to the well-known lines they said,

*Tota jacet Babylon; destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus.*

I will here add, in further illustration, an extract from a new work on the Revelations, which has lately come to a second edition. Whether the author calls himself a Dissenter or not, I know not. He certainly treats the English Church far more tenderly than Dissenters do in general, but any how he will serve as a specimen of the capabilities of our own system under the same ingenious exegetic which makes the Pope Antichrist. It is worth remarking too, that this writer is not an orthodox believer, even putting the most lax meaning upon that word. That he is not, the following extract, not very learned, but very explicit, will suffice to shew. "The varieties of their languages and dialects," he says, speaking of the Arian controversy, "contributed to multiply their perplexities and to inflame their anger. If a Father of the Eastern Church waxed wroth that his ponderous treatise on the Homousion was assailed by a Carthaginian Doctor with African Latin, he retaliated the indig-

nity on some Italian Bishop, by refuting his defence of the Homoiousion in Asiatic Greek ; while every attempt to elucidate the chimerical matter in dispute only made ' confusion worse confounded.' ”

This being the complexion of his theology, he administers a mingled praise and censure to our Church, in course of commenting on the words, “ The third Angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters ; and the name of the star is called Wormwood, &c.” Rev. viii. 10, 11.

“ The Anglo-reformed Church,” he says, “ had soon to appear in another character. She approved herself “ a great star, burning as it were a lamp,” but prophecy had designated that star by a name to which she must make good her title ; “ and the name of that star is called Wormwood.” . . . The Anglo-reformed Church was, from the hour of her birth, rigidly intolerant. Filling her lamp with light “ from the great mountain burning with fire,” she imbibed together with its glorious illumination, her full share of the uncharitable spirit by which it was attended. During the religious excitement which agitated the reign of Edward VI. a woman, Joan Boches, used sometimes to exercise her distempered intellect with a short rhapsody which I forbear from citing . . . The bewildered enthusiast fancied that her farrago of words signified something theological : and her delusion was confirmed by no less a personage than

Abp. Cranmer. But as she and the primate could not agree in their attempts to interpret what was incapable of any rational interpretation at all, his Grace finished the controversy, by causing the poor crazy creature to be publicly burnt to death.

“Such was the spirit with which the Anglo-reformed Church commenced, and *qualis ab incepto*, long continued her course. Her martyrdom illustrated her faith and fortitude, but inspired her with no charity; her heart was not softened by her tribulation. Under the primacies of Abps. Parker and Whitgift, the forerunners of Abbot and Laud, she exhibited an intolerance which so strongly resembled the persecuting ferocity of the Romish Church, that the “old mother of harlots” must have acknowledged, that of her frail daughters one at least, though making her

“feel

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child”

inherited so much of her own characteristics as to fairly entitle the truant to the honour of the family pedigree. . . . In ten years of her reign, fifty Romish priests were executed, and fifty-five were banished. . . . The efforts of the Anglo-reformed Church to repress every degree of dissent from any article of her creed, and every degree of non-conformity with any part of her ritual and liturgy, were thus directed with an asperity so intensely bitter, as to well justify her claim to the apocalyptic name of

“ *Wormwood.*” And the length of time for which she persisted in that spirit, has amply proved, that its prevalence was independent of the accidental character of individual sovereigns, statesmen, or prelates. The histories and biographical memoirs of the sufferers from her intolerance, variously denominated non-conformists, non-jurors, dissenters, Brownists, puritans, &c. cover at least a century and a half with the most affecting narratives that ever inspired a generous indignation against oppression, or invoked sympathy with its victims. . . .

“ Seeing then the unspeakable importance of the consequences, which the history of Christianity will trace in the two hemispheres to the Anglo-reformed Church—in the Western, to the severe coercion of dissenters, and in both in the luminous piety and holy devotion of her glorious martyrs, when she was cast down from her high seats of civil power—we cannot be surprised at finding her noticed in the Apocalypse by her apparently incongruous characteristics, the brightness of her light, and the bitterness of her intolerance: “ there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers.”

But enough, or rather too much of this author, whose remarks however are not without the merit of ingenuity. Returning to the case of the Roman Church, I need not say more than this; that the 17th and 18th chapters of the Apocalypse, on which

the supposed Scripture evidence against her principally rests, must either be taken literally, or figuratively ; now they do not apply to her unless they are taken partly in the one way, partly in the other. Take the chapters literally, and, sure it is, Rome is spoken of ; but then she has merchants and ships and sailors ; and therefore is not Papal Rome but Pagan. Take them figuratively ; and then, sure it is, merchants and merchandize, *may* mean indulgences and traffickers in them ; but then the “ great imperial city on seven hills” or Rome^a may perchance be a figure also, as well as her merchandize. Nay, I should almost say, it must be ; for the city is spoken of not only as Rome but as Babylon ; and if Babylon is a figurative title, why should not Rome be ? The interpretation then lies between Pagan Rome which is past, and some city, or power typified as a city, which is to come ; and probably may be true both ways. But, if we insist on adapting the prophecy to Papal Rome, then we are reduced to take half of the one interpretation, half of the other ; and by the same process, only taking in each case the *other* half, we may with equal success make it London, for London has *literally* ships and sailors, merchants and merchandize, and is a *figurative* Rome, as being an Imperial City^b.

^a I have corrected this sentence, which was faultily expressed, as Dr. Faussett has shewn. The argument remains as before.

^b Dr. Faussett calls this allusion to London, “ Mr. Newman’s

And now I come to the main subject of discussion, which is so much more arduous than any of the others, that I fear it will occupy a long time; and that is the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

Before entering upon it, I will notice several points in your publication connected with it which call for remark.

You write as follows :—" The term Altar, as synonymous with the Lord's Table, *does not appear to have been adopted till about the end of the second century* ; and then merely in a figurative sense, and *out of a spirit of accommodation*, as it should seem, to the *prejudices* of Jews and Pagans, who habitually reproached the Christians as having neither Altar nor Sacrifice." pp. 18, 19. You are of opinion that the word Altar was not used for the Lord's Table " *till about the end of the second century.*" On the contrary I read it in as many as *four* out of the seven brief Epistles of St. Ignatius, at the end of the *first*. If this be so, this glorious Saint and Martyr, the immediate companion of Apostles, acted in a " spirit of accommodation" to the " prejudices of Jews and Pagans." Do my eyes play me false in reading Ignatius, or in reading your " Revival of Popery ?"

flippant suggestion." Let me assure him, I am far from making it jestingly. If he allows me to hold that the prophecies have successive and approximating fulfilments, I think I could maintain that London has, at this moment, many of the tokens of the Apocalyptic Babylon, though the full antitype may be still to come.

First he uses it in his Epistle to the Ephesians : —“ For if I in so short a season formed such an intimacy with your Bishop, not a human but a spiritual, how much more do I call you fortunate, who are so united to him, as the Church to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father, that all things may be concordant in unity? Let no one err ; unless a man be *within the Altar* (ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) he comes short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one and a second has such power, how much more that of the Bishop and all the Church ?” §. 5.

Next, in that to the Magnesians :—“ Let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love, in that joy which is irreprovable. There is one Jesus Christ, to whom nought is preferable ; all of you then run together as to one Temple, as *for one Altar*, (ἐπὶ ἑν θυσιαστήριον) as for One Jesus Christ, who is come forth from One Father, and returned again to One.” §. 7.

Thirdly, in that to the Trallians :—“ Guard against such [sectarians,] and this will be if you are not puffed up, nor separated from Jesus Christ our God, and the Bishop, and the ordinances of the Apostles. He who is *within the Altar* (ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου) is clear ; that is, he who does any thing without Bishop, and Presbytery, and Deacon, such a one is not clean in conscience.” §. 7.

Lastly, in that to the Philadelphians :—“ Be

careful to use one Eucharist ; for the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and one Cup for the uniting of His blood ; *one Altar*, (ἐν θυσιαστήριον,) as one Bishop, together with the Presbytery, and Deacons my fellow-servants ; that whatever ye do, ye may do after God." §. 4.ⁱ

ⁱ Dr. F. maintains, that " not one" of these four passages " goes to the extent of proving, that by the term altar (θυσιαστήριον) is meant the *material table* at which the communicants partook of the Eucharist." p. v. Whether St. Ignatius did or did not mean in these passages to speak of the material Table, (for this is the right way of putting the question, not whether the *words* go to the extent of *proving*,) I leave confidently to the judgment of readers, being quite sure, though here and there and for awhile it may be answered in the negative, yet that the general voice of competent judges will be with me. If it be against me, I have nothing more to say. The Fathers have too long been sealed books, known to us only through the testimony of a few theologians, who have spoken according to their bias, whether right or wrong. I anticipate little difference among educated persons about their meaning, when they are read more generally. For instance, Mr. Osburn, who has lately written on the Doctrinal errors of the Fathers, says, " He (Ignatius) writes thus to the Philadelphians, ' There is One flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and One cup in the unity of His blood, One Altar.' " Then in a note, he continues ; " θυσιαστήριον, that is, place whereon a sacrifice is offered ; *he certainly uses it in this literal and offensive sense.*" p. 101. As to the opinion of Ussher, great names, we know, can be found on the side of all questions of divinity, great and small ; I subjoin at the end of my pamphlet a passage from Beveridge to meet it, if we must go by names. I will but express my regret that Dr. Faussett *does not produce the passages* which make him say, that " the term altar, as synonymous with the Lord's Table, does not appear to have been adopted till *about* the end of the *second century.*" I should have liked to have seen the very passage which to his judgment first " goes to the extent of *proving* that

And while the goodly list of ecclesiastical witnesses to the use of the word Altar for the Lord's Table begins as early as it can after the Apostles and Evangelists, (who use it also as I would contend, (*vid.* Matt. v. 23. Heb. xiii. 10.) but who are not at present under review,) it proceeds downwards, not only in an uninterrupted series, but with a sort of prerogative of usage ; for it is very remarkable that, excepting one passage in a letter of St. Dionysius of Alexandria, no ecclesiastical writer at all is found to use the word "Table" till St. Athanasius in the fourth century ; and what is also remarkable, when St. Athanasius uses it, he does so with the explanation, "that is, the Holy Altar ;" as if he were not using a word *commonly* adopted. On the contrary, the word Altar is used after

by the term altar is meant the Table." As I have produced *mine* for its being at the end of the *first*, I should have liked the opportunity of judging whether *his* passages were stronger than mine. Who knows but, on the *assumption* that the passages in Ignatius do not refer to the material altar, we might have pushed down that use of the term lower still? As to Dr. Faussett's interpretation of the passages in Scripture, Matt. v. 23. and Heb. xiii. 10. it is but his assertion against my assertion. I believe that in both places the word means a material altar under the Gospel ; he says in the former it is the Jewish altar, in the latter a figure. Each person will decide according to his previous bias. As to the expression "within the *pale* of the Church," it is figurative, but a figure taken from a literal fence round a literal building. What does Dr. F. consider the *literal sense* of Altar, what and where is that literal Altar, *from which* Ignatius's figure is taken? is he as well as our Lord referring to the Jewish Altar? Second meanings imply *first*.

St. Ignatius by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Optatus, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Austin^k.

The next point on which it is necessary to remark, is your saying, that the Tracts for the Times “appeal” on the subject of the Eucharist to the “half-converted German Reformers,” that is, to Luther, and Melancthon, “and to the strong and unguarded expressions which their works supply;” and this you call an “alarming fact.” I am very glad to find we are so agreed in our judgments as to the authority of Luther and Melancthon in our Church; but I cannot allow that the Tracts do appeal to them, or wish to shelter themselves behind them. Bp. Cosin, in the Tract you refer to, certainly does quote the Lutherans, but he also quotes Calvin, Bucer, and the French Protestants; and that, in order to shew, that “*none* of the Protestant Churches doubt of the real (that is, true and not imaginary) presence of Christ’s Body and Blood in the Sacrament;” and he “begins with the Church of England,” quoting first our formularies, then the words of Bilson and Andrews. In what sense then do you mean that the *writers* of the Tracts appeal to the *Lutherans*, when, *not* the writers, but only Bp. Cosin in the Tracts, appeals, *not* to the Lutherans, but to

^k Vid. Johnson Unbl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 306—9.

the *whole Protestant world*¹? Concerning the Real Presence itself something shall be said presently ; meanwhile I do not fear that any great number of Divines will identify or assimilate with Luther's the doctrine held by Hooker, Andrews, Bramhall, Cosin, Bull, Ken, and Leslie. It may be well to quote the words of the last-mentioned Divine concerning this work of Bp. Cosin, whose views you consider do not " fall much, if at all, short of what has been commonly termed Consubstantiation." " Bishop Cosin's History of Transubstantiation," he says to a Romanist, is " a little book, long printed both in English and Latin, not yet answered (that I hear), *and I believe unanswerable*, wherein you see a cloud of witnesses through the first ages of the Church, and so downwards, in perfect contradiction to this new article of your faith." *Rome and England*,

¹ Dr. Faussett says, " this is utterly uncandid, and must not be allowed to pass." p. ix. He goes on to say, that " the Tract," though " a treatise of Bishop Cosin's," " being adopted as a Tract, becomes from that moment, *every letter of it*, the avowed language of the Tract writers." I altogether protest against the idea, that a person reprinting a work, or part of a work, is answerable " for every letter of it." Next, he says, that the Tract writers appeal not only to the Lutherans but " to the whole Protestant world," i. e. *to their formal Confessions*, " at a period," i. e. *at the Reformation*, when a belief " closely bordering on Consubstantiation was widely prevalent." It seems then that Dr. Faussett differs from the Reformers and the Protestants of the Reformation. He goes on to speak of Laud, Cosin, Bilson, Andrews, and Bramhall, as involved in the same charge. At least the Tract writers are in good company ; yet Dr. F. treats them as *innovators*.

vol. iii. pp. 130, 1. This is not the language of one who felt Cosin's book to be "an alarming fact."

And thirdly, let me allude to two statements in Mr. Froude's Volumes, on which you dwell, to the effect that our present Communion Service is "a judgment on the Church," and that there would be gain in "replacing it by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter." The state of the case is this; the original Eucharistic form is with good reason assigned to the Apostles and Evangelists themselves. It exists to this day under four different rites, which seem to have come from four different Apostles and Evangelists. These rites differ in some points, agree in others; among the points in which they agree, are of course those in which the Essence of the Sacrament consists. At the time of the Reformation we in common with all the West possessed the rite of the Roman Church, or St. Peter's Liturgy. This formulary is also called the Canon of the Mass, and except a very few words, appears, even as now used in the Roman Church, to be free from interpolation, and thus is distinguished from the Ordinary of the Mass, which is the additional and corrupt service prefixed to it, and peculiar to Rome. This sacred and most precious monument, then, of the Apostles, our Reformers received whole and entire from their predecessors; and they mutilated the tradition of 1500 years. Well was it for us that they did not discard it, that they did not touch any vital part; for through

God's good providence, though they broke it up and cut away portions, they did not touch life; and thus we have it at this day, a violently treated, but a holy and dear possession, more dear perhaps and precious than if it were in its full vigour and beauty, as sickness or infirmity endears to us our friends and relatives. Now the first feeling which comes upon an ardent mind, on mastering these facts, is one of indignation and impatient sorrow; the second, is the more becoming thought, that as he deserves nothing at all at God's hand, and is blessed with Christian privileges only at His mere bounty, it is nothing strange that he does not enjoy every privilege which was given through the Apostles; and his third, that we are mysteriously bound up with our forefathers and bear their sin, or in other words, that our present condition is a judgment on us for what they did. These, I conceive, to be the feelings which dictated the sentences in question; the earlier is more ardent, the latter is more subdued. The one says, "For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister, but —— conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe he would now gladly consent to see our Communion Service replaced by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter, a name which I advise you to substitute in your notes to —— for the obnoxious phrase 'Mass Book.'" vol. i. p. 287. Lest any misconception of the

Author's meaning should arise from the use of the word "replaced," I would observe, that such "replacing" would not remove one prayer, one portion of our present Service; it would consist but of addition and re-arrangement, of a return to the original Canon. The substance of this explanation is contained in the second volume of the Remains, (Essay on Liturgies^m), a reference to which would supersede it. The other passage runs as follows: "By the bye, the more I think over that view of yours about regarding our present Communion Service, &c. as a judgment on the Church, and taking it as crumbs from the Apostles' table, the more I am struck with its fitness to be dwelt upon as tending to check the intrusion of irreverent thoughts without in any way interfering with one's just indignation. *If I were a Roman Catholic Priest, I should look on the administration of the Communion in one kind in the same light.*" vol. i. p. 410. You see, he thought that nothing would be gained by going to Rome, unsatisfactory as might be our present case. Nay that he was not even in favour of changes in our own Services, to meet the defect, appears from the following passage in his Tract on the Daily Service: "This, it will be said, is an argument, not so much for retaining the present form of the Prayer Book, as for reverting to what is older. In my own mind, it is an argument for something different from either, for

^m Vid. also the Introduction of Tracts, No. 81.

diffidence. I very much doubt whether in these days the spirit of true devotion is at all understood, and whether an attempt either to go forward or backward, may not lead our innovations to the same result. ‘If the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into the ditch?’” vol. ii. p. 382.

And now at length let me proceed to the doctrine itself to which these remarks relate, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Here I could have much wished that you had, at least in your Notes, drawn out that view of it which you consider to be Scriptural and Anglican. It would have been a great satisfaction to know where I am standing, how far I can assent, how far I am obliged to dissent from your opinion. But, excepting from one or two half sentences, I really can gather nothing to the purpose; I only see you do not hold, but rather condemn, a view which Bp. Cosin declares to be that of all “the Protestant” or “Reformed Churches.” To this difficulty I must submit as I can; and instead of letting the course of my remarks run along your pages, shall be obliged against my will to take a more prominent part in the discussion.

As regards then this most solemn subject, three questions offer themselves for consideration; first, whether there is a Real Presence of Christ in this Holy Sacrament, next what It is, and thirdly where. On the first of these I shall not use many words, because on the one hand the Real Presence is expressly recognized by the Catechism and Homilies,

(not to mention the language of the Service itself,) and on the other because you do not absolutely condemn such language, only you think it “highly objectionable and dangerous” when “systematically and studiously adopted.” I shall not therefore debate a point which the formularies of our Church decide, when they declare that “the Body and Blood of Christ” are “*verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful *in* the Lord’s Supper;” that “the Body of Christ is *given, taken, and eaten in* the Supper;” and that “thus much we must be sure to hold, that *in* the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, *no untrue figure of a thing absent*, but, as the Scripture saith, . . . the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ, is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win to their bodies a resurrection to immortalityⁿ.” These passages seem to determine that the Body and Blood of Christ are not absent but present in the Lord’s Supper; and if Christ’s Body be there, His Soul is there, and His Divine Nature; He is there whole and entire. Nor does any one doubt this of His Presence as God, for He is every where; but the question is, whether His human nature also is present in the Sacrament.

ⁿ Sermon of the Sacrament, part I.

In corroboration of the view here taken of the statements of our Church, I quote the following passage from Hooker, who, we all know, was not in this, any more than in other points, an extreme Divine. He argues that the three Schools of opinion in his day, the Romanists, the Lutherans, and the Sacramentaries, (the last, I need not say, being one which no where exists as a body at this day, but which originally was the School of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius,) might well waive the question among themselves, *how* Christ is present, upon the common confession that He *is really* present. And he defends the Sacramentaries from the objection then urged against them, and since fulfilled in their descendants, that they admitted a Presence in words and explained it away; and, as believing they did not explain it away, he admits them into this compact of charity, as it may be called. He says, “*It is on all sides plainly confessed, . . . that this Sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even His whole entire Person, as a mystical head unto every soul that receiveth Him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of Him, yea of them also whom He acknowledgeth to be His own It seemeth therefore much amiss, that against them whom they term Sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made, all running upon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare*

sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of His Body and Blood *is not all* we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their books and writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that *both* these assertions *they plainly confess to be most true*. They *do not so interpret the words of Christ*, as if the name of His Body did import but *the figure of His Body*; and to be were only to *signify* His Blood. They *grant* that these Holy Mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally *both* make us partakers of the *grace* of that Body and Blood which were given for the life of the world, *and besides* also impart unto us, even in *true and real, though mystical manner, the very Person of our Lord Himself, whole, perfect, and entire*, as hath been shewed^o.”

Elsewhere he says, “Doth any man doubt, but that *even from the flesh* of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accounted parts of His Blessed Body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that *here* they are joined with His Body which is incorruptible, and that *His is in ours* as a *cause* of immortality, a cause by removing through the death and merit of His own Flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore, both as God and as man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually *and corporally* are branches. The

^o Eccl. Pol. v. 67. §. 7, 8.

mixture of His Bodily *Substance* with ours is a thing which the Ancient Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of His Flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what *our very bodies*, through mystical conjunction, receive from *that vital* efficacy which we know to be in His ; and from bodily mixtures they borrow diverse similitudes, rather to declare the *truth* than the *manner* of coherence between His Sacred, and the sanctified bodies of saints^p.”

So much on the testimony of our Church and of her celebrated Divine to the doctrine of the Real Presence. But here it is objected that such a Presence is *impossible*; and this brings us to the question *how* Christ is present, which stands next for consideration. The objection takes this form,—if He is *really* here, He is *locally* here, but He is locally in heaven not here, therefore He cannot really be here, but is only said to be here. Now to answer this question.

Now Bellarmine maintains that our Lord can be locally here, though He is in heaven ; for he lays it down as a theological truth that a body can be in two places at once. Accordingly he would say, that in the Sacrament that very Body, which died upon the Cross, and rose again and ascended, is locally present under the accidents of Bread.

Our Church, however, in the note at the end of the Communion Service, incidently argues, that a body cannot be in two places at once; and that the

^p Ibid. 56. §. 9.

Body of Christ is not *locally* present, in the sense in which we speak of the Bread as being locally present. On the other hand she determines, as I have already said, that the Body of Christ is in some mysterious way, though not *locally*, yet *really* present, so that after some ineffable manner we partake of it. Whereas then the objection stands, Christ is not really here, because He is not locally here, she answers, He is really here, yet not locally.

I will say directly what is meant by this ; first, however, let me briefly observe, that there is nothing (as far as I am aware) in Mr. Froude's writings in countenance of the *local* presence on earth, as it is commonly understood, though he certainly did not sympathise with the Reformers at all in their mode of arguing on the subject. When he speaks of "making the Body and Blood of Christ," or indirectly adopts the phrase of "making the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ," he does not go beyond the doctrine of the Real Presence, which, as we shall see, need not be local ; and in the use of the one phrase he is borne out by Hooker, who speaks of the Christian Ministry as having "power imparted" to it by Christ, "both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that *Natural, which is Himself*, for the knitting of both in one, a work" (he proceeds) "which Antiquity doth call *the making of Christ's Body* ;" while he brings forward the other, not in his own words, but in the words of Bishop Bull, who says, "We

are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them, do become and *are made* the Body and Blood of Christ."

At the same time I do not deny he considered it conceivable that, *for what we know*, It might be in a certain sense a local, as well as a real, Presence¹; but how far he was from agreeing with the Roman doctrine will be clearly seen from a passage of his writings, not yet published. In an unfinished Essay on Rationalism, speaking of the interpretation which supposes " 'This is My Body' " to mean " 'This is a sign of My body,' " he says, " 'This mode of speaking....is true in one sense, and in every other gratuitous and improper. If it is intended simply to deny, that by the words ' This is My Body' our Lord meant, ' This is *that very* Body of Mine which you see before you sitting at the 'Table,' then indeed *the sentiment is true*, however awkward may be the expression of it. But if the words ' Sign of My Body' are understood to convey any idea *more definite and intelligible* than that which is conveyed in our Lord's own words,

¹ Dr. Faussett calls this " a reluctant admission that Mr. Froude allowed, in some sort, a local Presence of Christ's human nature *in the elements*." p. ix. It is no admission at all of this. I do *not* admit that Mr. Froude maintained a local Presence *in the elements*; but in some sort a local presence, on and at the Altar, and in immediate connexion with the elements, but where, being a question quite beyond us. Vid. *infra*, p. 65.

then most certainly that idea is unscriptural, it is a mere human invention fabricated to set the mind at rest, *where God has seen fit to leave it in uncertainty.*" Here he says the very thing which I conceive our Church holds, that Christ's Body *is* present, but *how* it is present is a *mystery*; it being hidden from us how Christ can be really here, while in heaven. Both Protestant and Romanist attempt to explain how; Protestants by saying it is a mere figurative or nominal presence, and as to Romanists, I will quote Mr. Froude's own words about them which occur soon after; "Opposed to these errors, (the Protestant,) but *erroneous much for the same reason*, is the Roman Catholic dogma about Transubstantiation. Unlike the Protestant glosses, this does not attempt to explain away every thing miraculous in the history of the Last Supper; but by explaining precisely *wherein* the miracle consisted and *how* it is brought about, it aims like them at relieving us from a confession of ignorance, and *so far must be regarded as a contrivance of human scepticism*, to elude the claims of Faith, and to withdraw from the hidden Mysteries of religion the indistinctness in which God has thought fit to envelope them."

Though then the author, whom you have felt it your duty to accuse of Romanizing on the subject of the Eucharist, was no Protestant with respect to it, he was still far enough from the Roman view of it to consider it sceptical and rationalistic; and while he confessed that Christ's Body was *really*, and did

not venture to deny that in some unknown sense it might even be *locally*, present, (though not in *that* sense in which He had sat before the Apostles at the Table,) he held with our Church that it was a Presence in mystery, or Sacramental Presence, which could not be defined, could not be pointed at, and could only be adored.

But it may be asked, what is the meaning of saying that Christ is really present, yet not locally? This is the point I was coming to, and I will now make a suggestion on the subject. What do we mean by being *present*? How do we define and measure it? to a blind and deaf man, that only is present which he touches; give him hearing, and the range of things present enlarges; every thing is present to him which he hears. Give him at length sight, and the sun may be said to be present to him in the day time, and myriads of stars by night. The *Presence* then of a thing is a relative word, depending in the popular sense of it upon the channels of communication between it and him to whom it is present; and thus it is a word of degree. Such is the meaning of presence when used of material objects; very different from this in our conceptions is the presence of spirit with spirit. The most intimate presence we can fancy is a spiritual presence in the soul; it is nearer to us than any material object can possibly be, for the body which is the organ of conveying to us the presence of matter, sets bounds to its approach

towards us. If then spiritual beings can be brought near to us, (and that they can, we know from what is told us of the influences of Divine grace, and again of evil angels upon our souls,) their presence is something *sui generis*, of a more perfect and simple character than any presence we commonly call local, meaning by *local* bodily. And further, their presence has nothing to do with the degrees of nearness; they are either present or not present, or, in other words, their coming is not measured by space nor their absence ascertained by distance. In the case of things material, a transit through space is the necessary condition of approach and presence; but in things spiritual, (whatever be the condition,) such a transit seems not to be a condition. The condition is unknown. Once more; while beings simply spiritual seem not to exist in place, the Incarnate Son does; according to our Church's statement already alluded to; that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the *truth* of Christ's natural Body to be at one time *in more places than one*."

Such seems to be the mystery attending our Lord and Saviour; He has a *body*, and that *spiritual*; He is both in place, and yet, as being a Spirit, His mode of approach, the mode in which He makes Himself present here or there, may be, for what we know, as different from the mode in which material bodies approach and come, as

a spiritual presence is more perfect. As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way,—probably is in some other way, since in some other way, (as it would appear,) not gradual, progressive, approximating, that is, locomotive, but at once, spirits become present,—may be such as to be consistent with His remaining on God's right hand while He becomes present here,—may be real yet not local, or in a word, is *mysterious*. The Body and Blood of Christ may be really, literally present in the Holy Eucharist, yet not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be on God's right hand ; so that, though they be present in deed and truth, it may be impossible, it may be untrue to say that they are literally *in* the elements, or *about* them, or *in* the soul of the receiver. These may be useful modes of speech according to the occasion ; but the true determination of all such questions may be this, that Christ's Body and Blood are *locally* at God's right hand, *yet* really *present* here,—present here, but not here in place,—because they are spirit.

To assist our conceptions on this subject, I would recur to what I said just now, about the presence of material objects, by way of putting my meaning in a different point of view. The presence of a material object, in the popular sense of the word, is a matter of degree, and ascertained by the means

of apprehending it in him to whom it is present. It is in some sense a correlative of the senses. A fly may be as near an edifice as a man; yet we do not call it present to the fly, because it cannot see it, and we call it present to the man, because he can. This, however, is but a popular view of the matter; when we consider it carefully, it certainly is difficult to say what is meant by the presence of matter relatively to us. It is in some respects truer to say that a thing is present, which is so circumstanced as to act upon us and influence us, whether we are sensible of it or not. Now this is what the Church Catholic seems to hold concerning our Lord's Presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily acts upon us in the way an object does which we call present; how He does so we know not, but that He should do so, though He be millions of miles away, is not more inconceivable than the influence of eyesight is to a blind man. The stars are millions of miles off; yet they impress ideas upon our souls through our sight. We know but of five senses; we know not whether or not human nature be capable of more; we know not whether or not the soul possesses any thing analogous to them. We know nothing to negative the notion, that the soul may be capable of having Christ present to it by the stimulating of dormant or the development of possible energies. As sight for certain purposes annihilates space, so other unknown capacities, bodily or spiritual, may anni-

hilate it for other purposes. Such a practical annihilation was involved in the appearance of Christ to St. Paul on his conversion. Such a practical annihilation is involved in the doctrine of Christ's ascension ; if we may reverently so speak, what must have been the rapidity of that motion by which within ten days He placed our human nature at the right hand of God ? Is it more mysterious that He should " open the heavens," as Scripture expresses it, in the Sacramental Rite, that He should then dispense with time and space in the sense in which they are daily dispensed with in the Sun's warming us at the distance of 100,000,000 of miles, than that He should have dispensed with them on occasion of His ascending on high ? He who shewed what the passage of an incorruptible body was ere it had reached God's throne, thus suggests to us what may be its coming back and presence with us now, when at length glorified and become spirit.

In answer then to the problem, *how* Christ comes to us while remaining on high, I answer just as much as this,—that He comes by the agency of the Holy Ghost *in* and *by the Sacrament*. Locomotion is the means of a material presence ; the Sacrament is the means of His spiritual Presence. As faith is the means of our receiving It, so the Holy Ghost is the Agent and the Sacrament the means of His imparting It ; and therefore we call It a Sacramental Presence. We kneel before His

heavenly Throne ; and the distance is as nothing ; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us.

Let it be carefully observed that I am not proving or determining any thing ; I am only shewing how it is that certain propositions which at first sight seem contradictions in terms, are not so ; I am but pointing out *one* way of reconciling them. If there is but one way assignable, the force of any antecedent objection against the possibility of reconciling them is removed, and then of course there may be others supposable though not assignable. It seems at first sight a mere idle use of words to say that Christ is really and literally, yet not locally, present in the Sacrament ; that He is there given to us, not in figure but in truth, and yet is still only on the right hand of God. I have wished to remove this seeming impossibility.

If it be asked, *why* attempt to remove it, I answer that I have no wish to do so, if persons will not urge it against the Catholic doctrine. Men maintain it is an impossibility, a contradiction in terms, and force a believer in it to say why it should not be so accounted. And then when he gives a reason, they turn round and accuse him of subtleties, and refinements, and scholastic trifling. Let them but believe and act on the truth that the consecrated Bread is Christ's Body as He says, and no officious comment will be attempted by any well-judging man. But when they say " this *cannot* be

literally true *because* it is impossible," then they force those who think it is literally true, to explain how according to their notions it is not impossible. And those who ask hard questions must put up with hard answers. Mr. Froude gives one answer; I have given another, viz. that, though Christ's local presence be in heaven alone, yet that it is by no means plain that a spiritual Body may not as being a spirit become really present, without moving, that is, without ceasing to be in that one place where it is¹.

The whole question comes to this: we have no right to attempt to *decide* what the nature of the presence is, *till* we have defined the word *presence*, whether as said of material things or of spiritual.

And now the way is clear to add a few words on the relation of the consecrated elements to those Realities of which they are the outward signs.

The Romanists, we know, consider that the elements of Bread and Wine vanish or are taken away on Consecration, and that the Body and Blood of Christ take their place. This is the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and in consequence they hold

¹ Dr. F. remarks that congregations of plain understanding *will* join together the ideas of local and real, and either admit both or reject both. p. x. Yes; they will, *till* you teach that the separation between them in the Sacrament is a *mystery*. Might not a Socinian argue with him in the same way, "Plain men *will* think the idea of a Trinity irreconcilable with that of a Unity in the Godhead, and either become Unitarians or Tritheists?"

that what is seen, felt, and tasted, is not Bread and Wine but Christ's Flesh and Blood, though the former look, feel, and taste remain. This is what neither our Church, nor any of the late maintainers of her doctrine on the subject, even dreams of holding. The Lutherans say that, though the Bread remains, the Body of Christ is within [intra] the Bread; neither is this countenanced by any of the persons alluded to. They hold a spiritual Presence to be such as not to allow of being strictly co-extensive with place, in the way in which a bodily substance, in the way in which the Bread is. Therefore they cannot be said to countenance the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, according to which Christ's Body is so in the Bread as to be eaten by the unbelieving. What they do say is that Christ's Body *is* present, but they do not know *how*; it being a mystery, as I have said already, how it can be really present yet not locally or as bodies are.

It is true there is a passage in Mr. Froude's Letters in which he seems to assert that the Body of Christ is locally *in* the Bread; though this is, I apprehend, not really the case on a candid judgment of it. He finds fault with an expression in a Poem, which, speaking of the Lord's Supper, says, "There present in the heart, not in the hands, &c." He adds, "How can we possibly know that it is true to say, '*not* in the hands?'" p. 404. that is, he much disliked dogmatic decisions of *any*

kind upon the subject. He does not rule that it *is* in the hands, but, with Hooker, he wishes the question left open; he disliked its being determined that it *was* in the heart in a sense in which it was *not* in the hands, seeing we know nothing of the matter. I am certain, from what I know of his opinions, that he did not mean, that the Body of Christ which is on God's right hand, was literally *in* the Bread.

But without limiting Christ's presence to the consecrated elements, it seems nothing but the truth to say that they are the immediate antecedents of Christ; so that he who in faith receives them, at once, and without assignable medium, is gifted with His Presence who is on God's right hand. As the breath is the immediate forerunner of the voice, as the face is the image of the soul, as a garment marks a bodily presence, so, I conceive, the elements are the antecedents of His Body and Blood, or what our Article calls, the "effectual signs, (*efficacia signa*,) by the which He doth work invisibly in us," or, as Hooker calls them, His "instruments." And hence, whereas He is unseen, and His Presence ineffable, and known only by Its outward signs, we say, when we take them, that we take the awful Realities which follow on them; when we touch the one, we touch the Other, when we eat the one, we eat the Other, when we drink the one, we drink the Other. We apply to our approach to the Sacred Gift all words, but those of

sense ; we do not literally say, we feel or see the Body and Blood under the outward signs, for, strictly speaking, what we see is Bread ; but as taste and colour are the evidence of the presence of that material substance of Bread which we do not see, so the Bread, thus evidenced to our senses, is the token of that Adorable Body which we do not see. Touching or eating are not, at least are not used in theology, as words appropriate to the senses. When we feel the Bread with our fingers, we touch the Body ; when we taste the Bread with our lips, we eat the Body. And moreover, whereas words of sense belong to our bodily frame, and words which are not of sense to our souls, therefore we are accustomed to speak as if it were our soul which took, touched, eat, and drank the Heavenly Gift ; in that our soul is in our eyes and in our fingers, and in our lips ; and when they variously apprehend the Bread that is seen, then the soul apprehends that sacred Body which is not seen, and which is said to be in our hands and in our mouths only inasmuch as the soul is in those bodily members. And, whereas what is spiritual has no parts, and what is spiritual cannot receive in part, therefore when we speak of eating Christ's Body with the soul, the words must not be grossly or absurdly taken to mean a partial or gradual communication of so Heavenly a Treasure, as happens in carnal eating ; but that in some unknown way the soul becomes possessed at once of Christ according to its nature, and that as bodily contact is the mode in

which Bread enters and nourishes our bodies, so the soul, and the motions of the soul, and faith which is of the soul, as by an inward contact, is the mean and instrument of receiving Christ.

One explanation must be added, before proceeding to cite one or two passages which will give authority to what has been said. Sometimes it is usual to speak of the Gift in the Sacrament as being "a spiritual substance," which would seem to mean neither bread nor Christ who is in heaven, but something in the bread ; thus the Homily which I shall directly quote speaks of "an invisible meat and not a bodily ; a ghostly substance, and not a carnal." But the meaning of such expressions seems to be this, that, whereas Christ's Sacred Body is represented "under the form of Bread," as the first Book of Homilies expresses it, so that the Bread may be called His Body, it is not improper to denote Its Presence under material images ; and hence the Bread which is Its medium, is spoken of as parallel or answering to the breath, or clay, or virtue going from Him, which was the mode in which He communicated Himself to those about Him when He was on earth. As then the moisture or breath proceeding from His lips was a substance but bodily, so may the consecrated Bread be said to contain or to be a spiritual substance. Mr. Knox expresses in the main what I would say, in the following passage, though with some unimportant differences. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

is to serve as the external and visible medium through which the disciples of Christ, in all ages, are to expect, through the co-operation of the Eternal Spirit, the *divinely vivifying influences* of His Incarnate Person, and the *ineffable virtues* of His crucifixion and death. The fact being undeniable, that there are, in the evangelic Dispensation, such *influences* and such *virtues*, those *influences* and *virtues* being denominated by our Lord Himself His Flesh and His Blood, we are obliged by the terms of St. Paul, and by the still stronger terms (if that be possible) of our Lord Himself, to identify the internal grace and virtue of the Eucharist with those *quickenings, strengthening, and purifying communications* which are promised to Christians, as *proceeding from the Person and Death of Christ*, through the ever co-operative agency of the Holy Ghost^a.”

Now let it be considered whether the following extracts from the Homilies and the Ecclesiastical Polity do not bear out the main points which have been insisted on. In consideration of the importance of the subject, I hope you will pardon their length.

“The true understanding,” says the first part of the Sermon concerning the Sacrament, “of this fruition and union, which is betwixt the body and the Head, betwixt the true believers and Christ, the Ancient Catholic Fathers both perceiving them-

^a Postscr. to Treatise on the Eucharist, p. 192.

selves and commending to their people, were not afraid to call this Supper, some of them the *Salve of immortality* and sovereign preservative against death ; other, a *deifical* communion ; other, the sweet dainties of our Saviour, the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the resurrection ; other, the food of immortality, the healthful grace, and the conservatory to everlasting life. . . . It is well known that the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly ; an *invisible* meat, and not bodily ; a *ghostly substance*, and not carnal. . . . Take then this lesson, O thou that art desirous of the Table, of Emissenus, a godly father, that when thou goest up to the reverend Communion, to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou *look up with faith* upon the *Holy Body and Blood of thy God*, thou marvel with reverence, thou *touch* It with thy *mind*, thou *receive* It with the hand of thy *heart*, and thou *take* It fully with thy *inward man*."

Hooker, whom I proceed to quote, holds the three following doctrines,—that Christ's Presence is in the soul,—that it comes into the soul from without,—that its comes through the elements, and does not rest in the elements. Speaking of the Apostles at the last Supper, he says, " Being assembled for no other cause, which they could imagine, but to have eaten the Passover only, that Moses appointed, when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands

and eyes lifted up to heaven, first bless and consecrate for the endless good of all generations till the world's end, the chosen elements of bread and wine, —which elements, made for ever the *instruments* of life by virtue of His Divine benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from Him, the first which were warranted by His promise, that not only unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their successors after them did duly administer the same, those mysteries should serve as *conducts of life* and *conveyances of His Body and Blood* unto them,—was it possible they should hear that Voice, ‘Take, eat, this is My Body,’ ‘Drink ye all of this, this is My Blood,’ possible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they saw in themselves? . . . The Bread and Cup are His Body and Blood, because they are *causes instrumental*, upon the receipt whereof the participation of His Body and Blood ensueth. . . . Our souls and bodies quickened to eternal life are effects, the cause whereof is the *Person* of Christ: His Body and Blood are the true well-spring out of which this life floweth. So that His Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life; not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beasts, men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by *a far more*

divine and mystical kind of union, which maketh us one with Him, even as He and the Father are one. The Real Presence of Christ's most Blessed Body and Blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament^b."

Soon after he continues in the following well-known passage: "He which hath said of the one Sacrament, Wash and be clean, hath said concerning the other likewise, Eat and live. If therefore, without any such particular and solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed woman, coming unto Christ for health, could so constantly resolve herself, May I but touch the skirt of His garment, I shall be whole, what moveth us to argue of the *manner how* life should come by bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that can we but eat, we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes some small and scarce discernible grain or seed, whereof nature maketh a promise that a tree shall come, and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite work, I look for the event, I move no question about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I singly credit nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial rely myself on art, never offering to make doubt? and in that which is above both art and nature refuse to believe the Author of

^b Eccles. Pol. v. 67. §. 4, 5.

both, except He acquaint me with His ways and lay the secret of His skill before me? Where God Himself doth speak those things, which, either for height and sublimity of the matter, or else for secrecy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety, will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for His dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of faith before that knowledge, which, curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know *what* there I receive from Him, without searching or inquiring of the *manner how* Christ performeth His promise. Let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest. Let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will; the very *letter* of the Word of Christ giveth plain security, that *these Mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to His very Cross, that by them we draw out, (as touching efficacy, force, and virtue,) even the blood of His gored side;*

in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is so satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched. They are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine. This Bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this Cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body; in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving. With touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief; it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Jesus Christ. What these elements are in themselves, it skilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the Body and Blood of Christ. His promise in witness hereof sufficeth; His word He knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God, Thou art True—O my soul, thou art happy^c?"

^c Ibid. p. 67. §. 5. Dr. Faussett observes, "Be it remembered *we do not swear by Hooker*, any more than we do by the rhetorical figures of Chrysostom, or the superstitious credulity of Cyprian." p. x. Who says we are bound to do so? But it is rather hard to be so severe with those who exercise their private judgment in *agreeing*, as he in *disagreeing*, with these great Saints.

What a contrast do glowing thoughts like these present to such teaching as has been too much in esteem among us of late years! For instance, to glean from your pages the few notices of your own opinion which are scattered there ; what a difference there is between “ visible symbols” of “ His *absent* Body and Blood,” and “ Mysteries which, as nails, *fasten us to His very Cross* ;” between “ the communion of the *benefits* of His sufferings and death,” and “ Holy Mysteries imparting not grace only, but *besides*, even in *true and real* though mystical manner, the *Very Person* of our Lord Himself, *whole, perfect, and entire* ;” between “ signs *attended by the blessings* of Christ” and “ *doth any man doubt* but that even from the *flesh* of Christ our *very bodies* do receive” everlasting “ life ;” between “ the body and blood of Christ” not “ spiritually included in the elements” but “ *spiritually received* by the faithful,” and “ Bread which hath in it *more than the substance* which our eyes behold,” “ a *ghostly substance*,” “ an *invisible meat* !” Alas ! what a decrepitude has come on us since Hooker’s day ! “ How has the fine gold become dim !” How has the promise of the spring played us false in the summer ! How have the lean kine eaten up the fat kine, and the thin ears stifled the full ones ! What a spiritual famine, or rather what locusts and cankerworms are our portion ! The olive-tree can be content with its own fatness, and the fig-tree

with its sweetness, and the vine reckons it much to "cheer God and man;" but the thin and empty ears of Zurich and Geneva think it scorn unless they devour and make a clean end of the pleasant and fair pastures of Catholic doctrine, which are our heritage:

Interque nitentia culta
Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.

Indeed, the change, which the tone of our theology has undergone in the last two centuries, is almost too much for belief. On the one hand we find Hooker, earnest in vindicating even the Zuinglians from the charge of denying that Christ's Person as well as His grace, His Person whole and entire, is in the Lord's Supper, and Cosin confident in the agreement of *all* Protestants in the same doctrine; and on the other we witness, not Zuinglians merely and Calvinists abjuring it, but even the Margaret Professor of Divinity in Oxford unable even in thought to distinguish it from Consubstantiation, considering it "highly objectionable and dangerous;" and in spite of Hooker and Cosin, denying that individuals holding it, are "safe and consistent members of the Church of England." However, it is out of place to lament over these things, at a time when one trusts they are (as it were) at low water mark and the tide is turning. It is more to the purpose to remove every obstacle, however small, to its natural return; and under this

feeling I proceed to notice the only argument you use against the Real Presence, which has any plausibility.

You state it thus; "The case of the profane Corinthians is a sufficient proof that they had never heard of Transubstantiation. Had St. Paul inculcated upon them that doctrine or *any other modification of the Real Presence* of Christ's Body and Blood in the elements of Bread and Wine, their conduct would have been not simply incredible, but morally impossible." p. 18. Let us then consider the state of the case.

Whether it was possible for men believing that in drinking of "the Cup of blessing" they communicated in Christ's blood, to drink of that Cup to intoxication, I need not determine, for I do not think the Corinthians did. Yet if I must answer, it is enough to say, that, in truth, as no assignable limits can be put to the self-delusion and perverseness of the human heart, it would not surprise me if they did. The sins of the Israelites, such as the golden calf, murmuring at the manna, or looking into the ark; the dreadful history of Balaam, and the waywardness of Jonah; exhibit far stronger instances of inconsistency, than could have been anticipated beforehand as possible: and if human nature can go so far beyond our anticipations, I do not see why it should not go further. There is nothing to shew that the intoxication in question had occurred often, or was intentional; and I think many

persons will recollect particular occasions, when their own conduct before and after the Holy Communion has been such as to fill them with astonishment, as well as dismay, ever since. I do not then see any reason for deciding, that had any very sacred idea been connected with the Eucharist in the minds of the Corinthians, they must have abstained from profaning it. None but very good men have a right to say, that such excess in spite of their knowledge was impossible ; and since the majority of men are not such, I think that, plausible as the objection in question is at first sight, yet, even when made the most of, it will not weigh with the majority.

Have we never heard in our own times of the most dreadful sins committed in prayer-meetings? Cannot persons possibly be betrayed, while the name of Christ is on their lips, into deeds of darkness?

Again, is there any thing more terrible than instances of persons, while they lie, calling on God to strike them dead if they are lying? Yet are not instances recorded of the sin and the infliction? A monument is set up at Devizes in memory of such a dreadful occurrence. If we cannot help acknowledging that the one enormity has occurred, I see no reason for deciding that the other cannot occur. I do not say which is the greater sin ; but it does seem as if one might more easily be seduced into fancying sensual indulgence to be a part of

religion, and the excitement arising from excess to be devotional feeling, than into taking a false oath, and calling on Almighty God to curse and smite us for it.

But let us take the very case in question. Your passage, as I have quoted it, would represent, that no one can believe in the Real Presence, yet be guilty of any gross profaneness as regards it. In one sense this is undeniable ; for if a man really was profane towards Christ, he might be said not really to believe, but in professing the doctrine to be using words which he did not master. But that persons may be taught, and profess, and to a certain extent (one cannot say how much) believe the doctrine, and yet profane it, seems to me clear from passages in St. Cyprian and St. Chrysostom, to go no further. They certainly did believe and inculcate the Real Presence, yet they speak of most grievous disorders as attending the Holy Sacrament in their time and among them. If then in their age the Christians of Antioch or Carthage could believe in it, yet profane it, I do not see why the Christians of Corinth might not ; I do not see why the Corinthians' profaning it is a proof that they did not profess it. I will quote passages from these two Fathers on the subject, and that the rather, because I am not unwilling to corroborate what I have already said on the subject of the doctrine itself, by shewing what is the concordant testimony concerning it given by men distinct in countries and

ages, but fellows in Christian reputation, the one a glorious martyr, the other the first divine of the Eastern Church.

The following passage from St. Cyprian's *De Lapsis*, which is a discourse on the necessity of adequate repentance on the part of those who had fallen, shews at once his sense of the "dignity of that Holy Mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof."

"It is an ill-instructed physician," he says, "who puts a tender hand to the swoln edges of wounds, and by sparing increases the poisonous matter lodged deep within the body. The wound must be opened and pierced, and by a sterner treatment the ulceration must be cut away. Cry and shriek and complain as the sick man may, impatient at the pain, yet he will thank you afterwards when he feels that he is restored. In fact, dearest brethren, a slaughter of a new sort has made its appearance; and as though the storm of persecution had fallen short in its fury, there has come upon its burden a deceitful evil and a smiling mischief under the name of mercy. Contrary to the vigour of the Gospel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, by the presumption of certain individuals, communion is opened to the thoughtless, a peace void and vain, perilous to the giver, profitless to the receiver. They seek not a patient recovery, nor the true remedy of satisfaction. Penitence is rejected from men's breasts; the remembrance of the most

heinous and extreme sins is put away. The wounds of the dying are smoothed over, and the mortal sore, rankling in the very depth of the vitals, is said to have no anguish and concealed. Men turn from the devil's altars; they approach to the Lord's Sacrament with foul and tainted hands; still overcharged with the poisonous idol-feasts, with throats breathing their crime, and redolent of deadly infection, they rush upon the Lord's Body, in spite of the protest of Holy Scripture, saying, 'They that be clean shall eat of the flesh; but the soul that eateth of the sacrifices of the peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people;' while the Apostle adds, 'Ye cannot drink of the Cup of the Lord and of the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils;' and further threatens and denounces the contumacious and obstinate, saying, 'Whosoever eateth the Bread or drinketh the Cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.' In scorn and contempt of such warnings, before they have made amends for their sins, before making confession for their offences, before purging their consciences by the priest's sacrifice and laying on of hands, before gaining peace for an offence against an angered and threatening Lord, a violence is offered to His Body and Blood, and they sin worse the second time by hand and mouth than when they denied Him. . . . What good opinion can you have of him, what

fear, what faith can you ascribe to him, whom neither terror has corrected, nor persecution itself reformed? The high and stiff neck has fallen, yet is not bent; the swelling and proud heart is overcome, yet not broken. Fallen it still threatens against the upright, and wounded against the whole; and displays a sacrilegious anger against the Priests, because it may not without ado receive the Lord's Body with defiled hands, and drink the Lord's Blood with polluted mouth. And O! for thy utter madness, frantic man! thou art angry with him who strives to keep thee off from God's anger; thou threatenest him who entreats for thee the Lord's mercy, who feels thy wound which thou feelest not, who sheds tears for thee which perchance thou sheddest not thyself. Thou art still adding burden and weight to thy offence; yet thinkest thou, when thou wilt not be reconciled to the Rulers and Priests of God, that the Lord can be at peace with thee?"

So far he describes the *profanation*; next he proceeds more fully to give his own view of *the depth of the Sacramental Mystery*. "Listen to what I witness upon my own eyesight. Some parents who were making their escape, in the thoughtlessness of terror, left behind them at nurse an infant daughter, whom the nurse, finding on her hands, made over to the public authorities. Unable from its tender years to eat flesh, they gave it, at an idol's altar to which the crowd were flocking, bread dipped

in wine, being, be it observed, the remains of what had been used for sacrificing the souls of backsliders. The mother afterwards got back her child ; but it could as little tell what had been done, as it could understand or prevent it. Through ignorance, then, it fell out, that, while we were sacrificing, the mother brought it in with her. However, the child, though in the midst of the saints, could not bear our prayers and worship ; it was one while convulsed with crying, then was tossed about as on a sea of passionate feeling ; the babe's soul thus confessing in that simple age, by such signs as were given it, its consciousness of the deed. When, however, the usual rites were finished, and the Deacon began to present the Cup to the communicants, and in due course its turn came, the little one, under the instinctive feeling of God's Majesty, turned its face away, pressed its lips together, and refused the Cup. The Deacon persevered, and in spite of its opposition forced on it the Sacrament of the Cup. Then followed a sobbing and a vomiting. The Eucharist *could not remain* in a body and mouth which had been defiled. *The draught which had been consecrated in the Blood of the Lord* made its way from an inside which had been desecrated. *Such is the power, such the majesty* of the Lord ; the secrets of darkness are laid open under His light, and God's Priest could not be deceived in crimes however hidden."

Now, we know, the Church has long relinquished

the practice of infant communion; so far then the passage does not now concern us. And many persons will see nothing miraculous in the above occurrence; and will consider St. Cyprian's language about sacerdotal power extravagant; and about the necessity of penance "gloomy" and unmerciful; I differ from them wholly; yet they may hold their opinion, for what it matters at present. I quote the passage for this purpose; to shew that the Church may teach that the Lord's Body and Blood are given in the Lord's Supper, and yet that men may come without due reverence to it.

St. Chrysostom will shew this still more vividly in the following exhortation to a more reverent attendance on the Ordinance: "I know," he says, "that many among us will be coming to this Holy Table from the custom of the Feast. And indeed it were right, as I have often said before, not to observe feasts in which the Communion formed a part, without cleansing the conscience, and then touching the Holy Sacrifice. For he who is under guilt and unclean, not even on a festival is at liberty to partake that Holy and Dreadful Flesh; but he who is pure and has wiped away his transgressions by careful penitence, both on a festival and always is at liberty to partake those Divine Mysteries, and worthy to enjoy the gifts of God." Then after saying that on a feast day, numbers thought they might come in their sins to the Holy Table, he proceeds to speak of a sin in which "all"

were involved. “ What is that sin ? this, the approaching without dread (*φρίκης*), but kicking, hitting, in a passion, calling out, reviling, shoving those next to them, all in confusion. I have often noticed this, and will speak of it again and again, Why in such a tumult ? tell me, good man, why in such a hurry ? stress of business, it seems, urges thee ; and hast thou in that hour any thought at all of having business ? dost thou at all recollect that thou art on earth ? thinkest thou that thou art with man ? What a heart of stone, to think at such a season that thou art standing on earth, and not singing with Angels, with whom thou didst offer up that mystical strain, with whom thou didst pour forth that hymn of victory to God ? ” After blaming their leaving church before the end of the service, he continues ; “ What art thou doing ; good man ? Christ is present, the Angels are standing by, that dreadful Table is spread out, thy brethren are still entering into the Mysteries, yet thou thyself dost depart abruptly.” Then after comparing such conduct to that of Judas, who did not wait for the hymn of thanksgiving after the Supper, he continues ; “ And now, beloved, let us dwell upon this, let us meditate on it, fearing the judgment which came on him. Christ Himself gives to thee of His flesh ; yet dost thou requite Him not in word even ? what, not return thanks even for what thou hast received ? but, while you turn to prayer after dinner on the enjoyment of bodily

food, yet, when partaking spiritual food which surpasses the whole creation seen and unseen, thou, a man and of a base nature, yet remainest not to return thanks in word and deed? They are called and they are Mysteries; where there are Mysteries, there is deep silence; let us then in much silence, in all good order, in befitting reverence, touch this Holy Sacrifice, &c.^d”

Lest it should be objected, that St. Chrysostom's view of the Holy Eucharist itself does not here appear so much as of its profanation, I subjoin a few sentences from his comment on John vi. “We become one body; ‘members,’ as is said, ‘from His flesh and from His bones.’ Let the initiated attend to what I am saying. In order then that we might be so, not in the way of love only, but might in very deed be poured into that flesh, (for this takes place through the food which He has vouchsafed us, wishing to shew us the desire He feels for us,) therefore He has united Himself with us, and has *diffused His body into us* that we might be one thing, as if a body united to a head Christ then to bring us into a closer love, and shew the desire which He feels for us, has not merely given Himself to be seen of those who long after Him, but so, that they should even *touch, eat, imprint*

^d De Bapt. Christi, c. 4. (ii. 374. A.) vid. et in Nativ. c. 7. (364. E.) de S. Philogon. c. 4. (i. 449. E. et seqq.) in 1 Cor. II. 27. c. 3. (x. 245.) et c. 5. (247, 248.) in Rom. xvi. Hom. 30. (ix. 739. E.)

their teeth in His flesh, be united to Him, and satisfy their full desire. As lions then breathing fire, so let us retire from that Table, becoming dreadful to the devil, dwelling on our Head, and on the love which He has shewed concerning us.” Whether this doctrine, which I believe to be most sacred and divine, yet not to approximate to the doctrine of transubstantiation, (for not a word is said about the Bread and Wine being taken away, and the Sacred Realities of the Supper being immediately exposed to our senses,) whether this doctrine is true or not, is nothing to the purpose here ; what I bring it to shew is, that a teacher might teach the Real Presence, yet hearers profane it ; and if this was the case with St. Chrysostom and the people of Antioch, it might be true of St. Paul and the Corinthians.

The circumstance then of persons professing that the cup of blessing is really the communication of the Lord’s Blood is no safeguard against very heinous acts of sacrilege towards it ; nor the circumstance of their profaning it, a proof that they do not believe in it. Indeed, does not the punishment inflicted on the offending Corinthians imply some dreadful profanation of something very sacred ? Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead for lying to the Holy Ghost ; the unworthy communicant is “ weak and sickly,” or “ sleeps,” that is, is visited by death. If we suppose that he does profane the Lord’s Body and Blood, the punishment is intel-

ligible; it is not intelligible, if his lightness of mind is shewn towards a mere commemorating or means of appropriating Christ's merits. Death seems like the punishment of blasphemy; there is no blasphemy, whatever sin there be, in turning religious feasting into excess. Again, the phrases "eating and drinking judgment unto himself," as not "discerning the Lord's body," and being "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," certainly do seem to imply some special act of blasphemy, of which the doctrine of the Real Presence does, and the doctrine of a mere appropriation does not, supply a sufficient explanation".

So much on the general question; but in matter of fact there does not seem any good reason for supposing that, strictly speaking, the excess in question was occasioned by the consecrated Cup; nor is such the interpretation given to the passage by St. Chrysostom, and other ancient commentators. In those early times it would appear, that the celebration of the Eucharist was often the first act of

c Dr. Faussett notices as "a singular fact," and an "instructive coincidence," that "this is the identical argument of the avowed Papist Dr. Wiseman," at the same time not insinuating that "Mr. Newman has actually borrowed his weapon" from him, but has been led to it from "instinctive sympathy." p. xi. Does Dr. F. imagine that no opponent of the Established Church, or again, that no friend of certain opinions which he dislikes as much as myself, would agree with *him* in (what I call) his explaining away Ignatius' use of the word Altar? and would he like to be accused in consequence of having an "instinctive sympathy" with Dissenter or Latitudinarian? Would he like to be classed with Schleusner, whom he refers to? p. v.

that social meal which Christians partook when they met together. Men under every Dispensation, on so meeting together, had taken as a sort of firstfruits, a select portion of the means of animal life and innocent cheerfulness, which God had given them, and had solemnly rendered them back to Him, in grateful acknowledgment of His bounty to them, and with prayer that they might be blessed to them, not only for bodily nourishment, but as interesting them in His favour. Such were the sacrifices of thanksgiving among the Jews; and Christ retained the ordinance in His Church, only annexing to it a higher meaning, and more varied purposes, and more sacred benefits. The feast of God's visible good gifts continued; but it was held chiefly for the poorer members of the Church, and furnished by the more wealthy,—in accordance with the command, “When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind; and thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee, for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.” And, whereas the choicest produce, whether of the earth, or of flocks or herds, had been selected for the sacred rite in the former sacrifices, the appointed materials of the Christian offering are Bread and Wine, the chief stays of bodily life;

and whereas the sacrifice had been both an acknowledgment to God, and a pledge of favour from Him, these holy elements were this and much more, at once a thankful remembrance and a symbolical pleading before Him of that all-sufficient Sacrifice which had once been offered on the Cross, and next, the actual means by which that Sacrifice is brought home in spirit and in truth to each believer.

The original rite then consisted of two parts ; oblations of the good gifts of God were made freely by all who had the means ; from these one portion was set apart and used for the Sacramental rite which came first, and then immediately a social meal followed, in which it was the rejoicing and glory of the rich to minister to the poor. And thus the Sacrament and the feast, being continuous, and forming parts of one religious service, which passed off from the most solemn act of worship to a social intercourse between Christians, are occasionally spoken of as one, and it is difficult to separate between them. Traces of some such connection we see even in the Gospels and Acts. Even on its institution, the Holy Eucharist was united to a social meal ; though the meal came first. Again, when our Saviour, as He sat at meat, “ took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them,” was this the Holy Sacrament or not ? it would seem to be the Sacrament *in* or *at* a meal. Again, we hear of St. Paul at Troas “ breaking bread, and

* Luke xxiv. 35.

eating and talking a long while, even till break of day;" but for our knowledge of the rite otherwise, there would be nothing to shew that this was more than a mere religious meal. And in like manner, though there may be a question raised about it, some persons will think that even on board ship, when " he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all," and " brake it, and began to eat," he was, unknown to those among whom he was a prisoner, partaking of the secret treasure which God had prepared for believers. Thus the celebration of the Eucharist seems to have sanctified the social meal.

When then the Corinthians are said to have committed excess, there is no reason for supposing that the consecrated elements were the materials of it ; rather the meal, which followed, which ought to have been a frugal repast, not to satisfy hunger so much as to be an opportunity of mutual friendliness, nor for the rich but for the poor, was made a mere animal refreshment or carnal indulgence, altogether out of character with a religious meeting. Hence he says, " What, have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not," i. e. that are poor? It must be remarked, moreover, that one is granting more than necessary in allowing that the word translated " is drunken" has strictly that meaning. It is the word in the Septuagint version in Gen. xliii. 34. which our Translation renders " they drank and

were merry with him." Joseph's brethren eat and drank freely, indulged themselves as men who had met with unexpected good; which need not imply gross intemperance. And such seems to have been the sin of the Corinthians; they turned a religious meeting into a mere festivity, and thus evidenced a state of mind which could not have, which had not, seriously and reverently taken part in the High Mystery with which it commenced. They who could indulge upon wine which had been offered up to God, and in part consecrated and made to them His blood, could not have really come in faith to that offering, consecration, and communion.

The feast I have been describing seems to have been the same as was called Agape, or the feast of charity, and is alluded to by Jude in a passage which corroborates what has been said. He mentions certain heretics who among their other sins committed in their love-feasts the same kind of fault as the Corinthians. "There are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, *feeding themselves without fear*;" words which are parallel to St. Peter's, concerning those who "shall receive the reward of unrighteousness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day-time. Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings, while they feast with you."

Such abuses as these, whether from the intrusion of heretics or the frailness of Christians, led to a speedy suppression of the Agape, as far as the Church

could do so. But the practice lingered on in one shape or other for some centuries. The growth of the Christian body brought it into contact in various ways with heathenism ; and those excesses, which had been in favour with a gross populace before their conversion, were introduced into it by means of the Agape. Even at the end of the fourth century, St. Austin had to defend the Church against Faustus the Manichee, who maintained, on the ground of such irregularities, that the practice itself had had a heathen origin. In his reply he allows that the feast was abused, but he traces it to its original source, the Apostolic feast of charity, the real object of which was to provide a meal for the poor^f. Shortly before St. Ambrose had succeeded in suppressing it at Milan ; but in Greece it continued even as late as the seventh century, as we learn from the Council in Trullo, which renewed against it a Canon passed at Laodicea in the fourth.

However, though such was the perversion and consequent inexpedience of this primitive feast, and such the earnestness with which the Church even in the Apostles' days set herself against it, yet it must not be supposed that it never was any thing but a scandal. In some of the descriptions left us of it by Antiquity, it appears as an innocent, or rather a beautiful and impressive ordinance. St. Chrysostom's account of it is very nearly the same

^f Vid. August. in Faust. xx. 21.

as what I have been drawing out. He observes that the first Christians had all things in common; and that when the distinction of property came to be observed, which took place even in the Apostles' time, then this usage remained as a sort of shadow and symbol of it; that on certain days, after Sermon, Prayers, and Holy Communion, they did not break up at once, but took part rich and poor in a common feast, the rich supplying provisions, the poor feasting⁵. St. Chrysostom seems to speak of the earliest times; for shortly after or in other parts of the Church the feast seems to have been delayed till the evening. Pliny in his celebrated Letter to Trajan speaks of Christians as first "meeting on a certain stated day before it was light," and "addressing Christ in prayer as some God," and "binding themselves with a solemn oath" to keep the commandments, and next as "separating and then re-assembling and eating in common a harmless meal." Tertullian says the same thing in his Apology, and an extract from him will serve to shew how suitable a sequel to the Lord's Supper the feast might be made. He has been observing upon a calumny which was urged against the Christians, concerning the *expense* of their entertainments, and urging that such a charge came with a bad grace from the pagans whose religious rites were notoriously prodigal; then he proceeds,—
 "Yet the only complaint which is made is at the

⁵ Vid. references above, p. 85.

single meal of the Christians. Our Supper sufficiently shews its meaning by its very name. It is called by a term which in Greek signifies love. Whatever may be its cost, an expense incurred in the cause of religion is in fact a gain, since by this refreshment we assist all who are in need ; not in the manner in which parasites with you eagerly expose themselves to every kind of indignity and ill-usage, which the licentiousness of the banquet may inspire, to gratify their appetite ; but with the full conviction that God more especially regards the poor.

“ If,” he proceeds, “ the cause of our feast be honourable, consider the order of the rest of our regulations, how appropriate it is to the duties of religion. It admits nothing indecorous, nothing indecent. We sit not down to eat, until prayer to God be made, as it were, the first morsel. We eat as much as will satisfy hunger, and drink as much as is useful for the temperate. We commit no excess, for we remember that even during the night we are to make our prayers to God. Our conversation is that of men who are conscious that the Lord hears them. After water is brought for the hands, and lights, we are invited to sing to God, according as each one can propose a subject from the Holy Scriptures, or of his own composing. This is the proof in what manner we have drunk. Prayer in like manner concludes the feast. Thence we depart, not to join a crowd of disturbers of the

peace, nor to follow a troop of brawlers, nor to break out in any excess of wanton riot; but to maintain the same staid and modest demeanour, as if we were departing, not from a supper, but from a lecture^h."

And now enough has been said concerning the primitive Agape or Feast of Charity, a sacred rite yet a social meal,—so far a bodily refreshment as to become an occasion of excess, and so far under the shadow of the Sacramental feast as to make that excess sacrilege. Such an excess is spoken of by St. Jude and St. Peter, and in both Apostles stands connected with divine judgments; why then should it not be the sin of the Corinthians? and if so, what is there more heinous, than unhappily we witness in other times and places, in persons first partaking the Lord's Supper, and afterwards proceeding to excess, and thus shewing that they had partaken in a light and thoughtless spirit *because* they proceed to excess?

I regret I cannot close this Letter without something like a protest respecting one subject. There

^h Apolog. 39. Mr. Chevallier's Translation has been borrowed, who adds the following beautiful passage from St. Cyprian. Et quoniam feriata jam quies, ac tempus est otiosum, quicquid inclinato jam sole in vesperam diei superest, ducamus hanc diem læti; nec sit vel hora convivii gratiæ cælestis immunis. Sonat psalmos convivium sobrium; et ut tibi tenax memoria est, vox canora, aggredere hoc munus ex more. Magis carissimos pascas, si sit nobis spiritalis auditio; prolectat aures religiosa mulcedo. Ad Dou. fin.

is nothing unbecoming in any one, who has means of judging, interposing when he sees an ordinance of the Church disparaged, and I think your tone as regards mortification and penance, is such as to discourage persons from obeying certain rules of the Church respecting them. I much regret that, while censuring “rigid mortifications and painful penances,” you have not given us to understand whether you mean “*rigid* mortifications and *painful* penances” or “mortifications and penances,” as such; whether you object to them in toto, or only in excess. I wish, when speaking of “self-abasement” as Papistical, and of “*gloomy* views of sin after Baptism,” you had said what views of it are at once appropriate to backsliders and yet not gloomy; whether you consider repentance itself cheerful or gloomy; whether every feeling must be called gloomy which is mixed with fear; whether every purpose is gloomy which leads to self-chastisement; whether every self-abasement savours of Popery, or what those are which do not so savour; whether any self-abasements are pleasant; whether the “indignation, fear, and revenge,” of the Corinthians was pleasant or “gloomy;” or whether St. Paul’s “bruising his body” was a mortification; whether (to come to our Church’s words and rules) to confess an “*intolerable* burden of sins” is “gloomy;” whether it is pleasant to be “*tied and bound* with the chain of our sins,” or to be “*grieved* and *wearied* with their burden;” whether “to *bewail*

our own sinfulness" is a cheerful exercise ; whether absolution does not imply a previous bond ; whether " days of fasting or abstinence " are pleasant or " painful ; " whether the " godly discipline," the restoration of which, as we yearly protest, is much to be wished, would not be " rigid " and " painful," and calculated to " call us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition ; " whether " turning to God with weeping, fasting, and praying," and " subduing by abstinence the flesh to the Spirit," is or is not calculated " hopelessly to alarm and repel those abettors of *low and rationalistic views* of the Sacramental Ordinances, whom it is our especial object to win and persuade to a *saving faith* in their genuine and inestimable importance."

Nor is this all ; what the Church has enjoined, her most distinguished sons, of whatever school of thought, have practised. Let me then lay out some additional matter, besides her authorized documents, the details of which I wish duly adjusted with those vague and frightful words, " rigour," and " gloom," and " pain," and " Popery," to which otherwise the untaught may refer them.

(1.) I begin with Jewel, because you have a zeal for him :—" Being forewarned to leave the hold of his body . . . he did not after the custom of most men seek by all means violently to keep possession . . . to surfeit the senses, and stop all the passages of the soul. No ; but by *fasting*, labour, and *watching*, he openeth them wider." *Life*, c. 32 fin.

(2.) B. Gilpin says to a friend, “ As for the arguments touching *fasting*, *God forbid* that either I or any one should deny, yea *rather we exhort all persons* to the practice of it, only we desire to have the superstition and wicked opinions removed.” *Wordsworth’s Eccl. Biog.* iv. 148.

(3.) Hooker. “ There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much ; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne ; in which place he continued his customary rules of *mortification* and *self-denial* ; was much in *fasting*, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of *strict* lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible ; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.” *Life*, ed. Keble, vol. i. p. 94.

(4.) Herbert. “ Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, ‘ One cure for these distempers would be, for the Clergy themselves *to keep the Ember-weeks strictly*, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in *fasting* and prayers for a more religious Clergy.’ ” *Wordsw. E. B.* vol. iv. p. 538.

Again : “ This Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at my own cost ; *for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and whit-meats : out of Lent also, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast.*” *Ibid.* p. 560.

(5.) Hammond. "He both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and beside that, received them to *his weekly office of Fasting and Humiliation.*" Life by Fell, p. 50.

"And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his *accustomed Fastings*, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resumed his *rigours*, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted *no exception*, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be *martyrs* too, and deprecate even in death." *Ibid.* p. 73.

(6.) Bull. "Now Mr. Bull did not satisfy himself only with giving notice to his parishioners, which he could not well omit without neglecting his duty, but he led them to the observation of such holy institutions by his own example. For he had so far a regard to these holy-days, as to cause all his family to repair to the church at such times; and on *the days of fasting and abstinence*, the *necessary refreshments of life were adjourned from the usual hour till towards the evening.* He was too well acquainted with the practice of the primitive Christians, to neglect such observances as they made instrumental to piety and devotion, and *had too great a value for the injunctions of his mother the Church of England*, to disobey where she required a compliance; but above all, he was too intent upon making advances in the Christian life, to

omit a duty *all along observed by devout men*, and *acceptable to God* under the Old and New Testament, both as it was helpful to their devotion, and became a part of it." *Life by Nelson*, ed. Burton, p. 54.

(7.) Leighton. "*He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast.*" Burnet's *Lives*, p. 282. ed. Jebb.

(8.) Kettlewell too "observed likewise the *days of fasting and humiliation*, both those appointed by the Church, and those which were enjoined by the civil authorities. Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent he *abstained from flesh and drank small beer*, according to the Canon." *Life*, part ii. p. 24.

(9.) Lastly, Ken, in his Sermon on Daniel, thus speaks: "I do not exhort you to follow them [the ancients] any further than either our climate or our constitutions will bear; but we may easily follow Daniel, in *abstaining from wine*, and from the more *pleasurable* meats, and such an abstinence as this, *with such a mourning* for our own sins, and the sins of others, and the proper exercise of a primitive spirit *during all the weeks of Lent*. For what is Lent, in its original institution, but a spiritual conflict, to subdue the flesh to the Spirit, to beat down our bodies and to bring them into subjection? What is it, but a *penitential martyrdom* for so many weeks together, which we suffer for our own and others' sins! A devout soul, that

is able duly to observe it, fastens himself to the Cross on Ash Wednesday, and hangs crucified by contrition all the Lent long ; that having felt in his closet the *burthen and the anguish*, the *nails and the thorns*, and tasted the *full of his own sins*, he may by his own crucifixion be better disposed to be crucified with Christ on Good Friday, and most tenderly sympathize with all the dolours, and pressures, and anguish, and torments, and desertion, infinite, unknown, and unspeakable, which God incarnate endured, when He bled upon the Cross for the sins of the world ; that being purified by repentance, and made conformable to Christ crucified, he may offer up a pure oblation at Easter, and feel the power, and the joys, and the triumph of his Saviour's resurrection." Sermon on Daniel.

I think then, if I may say so with due respect, that those who wish to obey their Church as regards fasting and abstinence, yet fear that " revival of Popish error" to which these practices tend, have a claim on you to draw some broad lines of distinction, or, in your own phrase, to "*devise some limits*," which may enable them safely to do the one yet not encourage the other ; lest they be saved from the " natural consequence" of such practices only by what you call elsewhere " a happy inconsistency," and "*for the present ;*" and lest " their credulous flocks" at length fall under " the yoke of spiritual bondage," from which we have been set free by the Reformation.

O that we knew our own strength as a Church ! O that instead of keeping on the defensive, and thinking it much not to lose our remnant of Christian light and holiness, which is getting less and less, the less we use it, instead of being timid, and cowardly, and suspicious, and jealous, and panic-struck, and grudging, and unbelieving, we had the heart to rise, as a Church, in the attitude of the Spouse of Christ and the Dispenser of His grace ; to throw ourselves into that system of truth which our fathers have handed down even through the worst times, and to use it like a great and understanding people ! O that we had the courage and the generous faith to aim at perfection, to demand the attention, to claim the submission of the world ! Thousands of hungry souls in all classes of life stand around us ; we do not give them what they want, the image of a true Christian people, living in that Apostolic awe and strictness which carries with it an evidence that they are the Church of Christ. This is the way to withstand and repel the Romanists ; not by cries of alarm, and rumours of plots, and dispute, and denunciation, but by living up to the creeds, the services, the ordinances, the usages of our own Church^a without fear of consequences, without fear

^a Dr. Faussett asks, " why not, up to the precepts of the Gospel also ? " p. xii. Let me then amend the phrase thus, " up to the precepts [and doctrines] of the Gospel *as contained* in the creeds, the services, the ordinances, the usages of our own Church."

of being called Papists; to let matters take their course freely, and to trust to God's good Providence for the issue.

And now to conclude. I am quite aware that some of the subjects I have treated might be treated more fully and clearly. But neither the limits of a pamphlet, nor the time allotted me, admitted it. Your Sermon, preached on the 20th of May, did not appear in a published form till yesterday, and the Term ends in a very few days.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Oriel College, June 22, 1838.



NOTE.

The following is the passage of Beveridge, spoken of in p. 42. “ D. Cyprianus nullo alio, quantum memini, præterquam *Altaris* nomine mensam Domini indigitare solet, isto autem sæpissime. . . . Ante eum Tertullianus et Eucharistiæ celebrationem *sacrificium* et mensam Domini *aram Dei* nuncupavit. . . . Eodem sensu voce *Altare* alibi utitur, dicens &c. . . . Apud Altare, scilicet, sive sacram mensam publicæ orationes antiquitus celebratæ sunt. Ante Tertullianum, *ipse etiam Ignatius in genuinis et inviolatis suis Epistolis* *θυσιαστήριον* in eodem sensu adhibuit, ‘Εάν μή τις, inquit, ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὡστερεῖται τοῦ

ἀγίου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ep. ad Eph. et alibi, Μία γὰρ σὰς &c. Ep. ad Philad.

Constat itaque mysticam mensam *ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus* vocatam fuisse *θυσιαστήριον*, non autem *Βωμόν*. Hæc enim vox gentibus solis ac Idololatris, illa Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus peculiaris est, neque unquam usurpatur præterquam de Altari quod vero Deo erigitur. Hinc est, quod Origenes, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, alii-que Christianos nullos habere *Βωμούς*, nullos Idolorum aras, quemadmodum et nulla Templâ, nulla scilicet claustra numinum, qualia omnia fuerunt, vel existimata sunt Ethnicorum Templâ, sæpe asseruerunt. Nusquam autem asserunt, eos nec *θυσιαστήρια* habere, istiusmodi scilicet Altaria quæ corpori sanguinique Christi mystice offerendo inservierunt." Beveridge, Cod. Can. Vind. ii. 10. §. 3, 4. The reader, who is interested on the general subject, will find abundant information both concerning it, and the views of our divines upon it, in 'Tracts for the Times, No. 81.

THE END.